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CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

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TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* An Exploratory Study of Adjustment of Migrants to Their New Environment: An Application of Role Theory Supplemented by Stress Theory

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* University of Alberta

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/ *GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* Fall, 1978

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF ADJUSTMENT OF MIGRANTS TO THEIR NEW ENVIRONMENT: AN APPLICATION OF ROLE THEORY SUPPLEMENTED BY STRESS THEORY

by

Ⓒ C. Jean Smith Mottershead

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT .....Sociology............

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1978

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled An Exploratory Study of Adjustment of Migrants to Their New Environment: An Application of Role Theory Supplemented by Stress Theory submitted by Catherine Jean Smith Mottershead in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Charles W Hobart

Supervisor

Date October 18, 1978

ABSTRACT

Purpose: The two main objectives of this thesis were: (1) to examine the utility of role theory supplemented by stress theory as a conceptual framework for studying the adjustment of migrants to their new environment; and (2) to apply the integrated role theory and stress theory to a study of a particular group of subjects.

The Subjects were twenty-four wives of trainees from the Northwest Territories. At the outset it was assumed that the trainees' wives would be Northern, native and migrant; but in actuality the subjects divided almost equally into Northern migrants and Southern "movers." The opportunity to compare the adjustment of the subjects in the two groups was serendipitous.

Data were collected from intensive interviews of the subjects (completed in 1975), conversations with community reporters, and from a limited follow-up investigation eighteen months after the interviews.

The conceptual definition of *adjustment*, derived from the integrated theory, was as follows: *an actor's dealing with or accommodating to a discrepancy between his knowledge of, or ability in, role expectations, role location, role demands, and role skills, and the knowledge or ability required for optimum role enactment*. Operational definition of *adjustment* involved constructing indices for the dependent variables, *Multiplicity of Roles* and *Satisfaction with Roles*.

Data analysis involved investigation of seven hypotheses, drawn from the integrated theory, and four case studies of Northerners. Northerners, in comparison with Southerners, were found to have experienced greater loss in multiplicity of roles and to express generally lower levels of satisfaction with roles in the new community. For Northerners, neither motivation to move nor preparation for roles in the new community correlated with adjustment to the new community. For both Northerners and Southerners, perceived positive audience response to role enactment correlated with adjustment, but Northerners were less likely to perceive such audience response.

Topics discussed in the case studies included clarity of role expectations, abruptness of passage from one role to another

training in role skills, incongruence between self and role, visibility of role enactment, and role conflict.

Though it is apparent that theoretical and methodological refinements could have improved the study, the theoretical framework of the study was found to be fruitful. Two salient topics for further investigation in studying the adjustment of migrants are the early socialization experiences of migrants, and the receptiveness of the new comunity. Role theory supplemented by stress theory could aid such investigation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to convey sincere thanks to the respondents for cheerfully participating in the interviews: to the Supervisor-Counsellors, George Fraser, Charlie Somers, and Rick Behn, for the many ways in which they facilitated the travel and the interviews; and to the interviewer, Mae Hopwood, for a job well done.

For financial support of the data collection, thanks go to Canadian Arctic Gas Study Limited, and to Northern Petroleum Industry Training Program. In particular I wish to thank Barry Virtue, Manager of the Training Program, and Art Giroux, Assistant Manager, for their decision to hire me to investigate the adjustment of the Northern trainees wives to the new communities, and for the friendly and efficient assistance they provided.

For their constructive suggestions, while I was writing the thesis, I wish to thank Dr. Gordon Hirabayashi and Ms Marilyn Assheton-Smith, members of my thesis committee.

Most of all I am indebted to Dr. Charles Hobart, supervisor of my thesis committee. Proceeding from my vague interest in adjustment of migrants, Dr. Hobart conceived the idea for the present study. In countless ways Dr. Hobart expertly assisted and guided the study and the thesis writing. But since my performance sometimes failed to fulfill the promise of the plans, the flaws in the study and in the thesis are solely my responsibility. Finally, I wish to thank Debbie Henschel for expertly typing this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

In general terms, the purpose of this thesis is to study the socio-psychological adjustment of migrants to their new environment, with a view to finding factors that affect adjustment. More specifically, the thesis has two related purposes:

(1) to examine the utility of role theory supplemented by stress theory as a conceptual framework for the study of migrants to their new environment;

(2) to apply the integrated role theory and stress theory to a study of a particular group of subjects: Canadian native wives, from the Northwest Territories, who, in 1975, were facing the challenge of adjusting to new environments in Southern Canada. These subjects had migrated with their husbands to Southern Canada, where their husbands were employed in the gas industry.

In the course of this study an unanticipated opportunity arose to compare the adjustment of Northern and Southern wives of trainees, all of whom were living under similar circumstances. This opportunity was taken. As a result, though the primary interest of this thesis is on the adjustment of Northern native migrant wives of trainees, data are included on an ethnically-mixed group of Southern wives of trainees. Since the Northern and Southern wives are alike in many respects, including having to adjust to new communities, the differences in adjustment between the two groups were noteworthy.

Significance of the Problem

The adjustment of migrants is unquestionably a significant topic for sociological study for two main reasons. First, migration, both internal and external, exerts a pervasive influence on the cultural and political development of a society. In both the area of origin and the area of destination, societies are affected by migration. In view of the prediction that the world's population will "inevitably double" in approximately thirty-five years,[1] and in view of the finding that "migration is a major symptom of basic social change"[2] (such as the change entailed in prodigious population growth), one can be assured that migration will significantly affect millions of people in the foreseeable future.

For the migrants themselves, adjustment is often problematic, and this is a second reason for sociological and psychological interest in the topic of adjustment of migrants to their new environment. Eisenstadt has observed that during the process of migration the migrant loses roles and to some extent is desocialized, experiencing shrinkage of his whole status-image and set of values. The new, unstructured and incompletely defined situation gives rise to insecurity and anxiety, which the migrant must attempt to overcome.[3] When the migrant is unable to adequately adjust to his new environment, he may engage in deviant behaviors. For example, migrants apparently have high rates of admission to mental hospitals, a fact which constitutes a social problem as well as personal problems.[4] Mental illness among migrants, and other problems connected with inadequate adjustment of migrants, indicate the need for systematic search for factors which affect adjustment.

As was indicated above, the thesis is concerned primarily with native Canadian female migrants. Dosman (1972), Frideres (1974), the authors of the Hawthorn Report (1966), and others have described the particular difficulties of the native Canadian migrant to urban centres, but Varden Fuller makes perhaps the most poignant statement: "Of all ethnic group experiences with adjustment to urban life, that of the American Indian is unquestionably the most sordid."[5] There is no reason to believe that the experience of the Canadian native is much different from that of the American Indian. In view of Fuller's statement, it seems that the adjustment of American and Canadian migrants to new environments, usually urban, is an area urgently requiring study and action. Although this thesis focuses only on a very particular category of migrants, namely native wives of trainees, its purpose is nevertheless significant.

The second purpose of this thesis is to examine the utility of a particular theoretical framework. There is general agreement that the theoretical grounding of migration literature is usually either inadequate or unspecified. At the same time, there is a consensus that a theoretical framework contributes explicitness and consistency to a study. Although some concepts of role theory have been used previously in studies of the adjustment of migrants, role theory integrated with stress theory has never before been used, to my knowledge, as a theoretical framework for studying the adjustment of migrants. Hence the study is exploratory, but it has the possibility of theoretical significance.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter II reviews first general literature on the adjustment of migrants, then literature on the adjustment of migrant Canadian natives. Chapter III presents role theory then integrates it with stress theory. From the integrated theory, hypotheses are derived. Chapter IV presents the methodology of the study. In Chapter V the data are analyzed. And Chapter VI concludes the thesis with a summary of findings and an assessment of the theoretical base of the work.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Overview of Migration Research

Of the many aspects of migration on which there is literature available, adjustment after migration is the one of interest here. Furthermore, in accord with the purposes of the study at hand, emphasis is placed on theoretical statements, and on findings concerning migrant wives, rural-to-urban internal migrants, and migrant ethnic minorities, especially Canadian native peoples.

Before reviewing literature on adjustment, it is useful to place it in context. To do so, we will look at several broad classifications of research on migration. Kosinski and Prothere (1975) distinguished four "research orientations," which are, (1) selection of migrants; (2) reasons for migration; (3) patterns of migration (spatial); and (4) consequences of migration (on communities at origin and destination, and on migrants themselves).[1] Mangalam (1968) presented essentially the same classification when he delineated "variables used for explaining and predicting various phases of migration."[2] These variables are (1) migration selectivity; (2) causes of migration; (3) area of destination (opportunities and distance); and (4) problems resulting from migration (including adjustment). Pryor (1971) discussed seven "approaches to migration studies."[3] The approaches are as follows: (1) total movement frameworks (reciprocal or one-way);

(2) behavioral theory and migration studies (spatial and environmental factors in decisions to move and where); (3) general systems theory and migration studies; (4) distance and human interaction; (5) migration as a demographic process; (6) migration and economic growth; and (7) migration as a social process. According to these three classifications of migration research, adjustment of migrants is categorized under consequences of or problems resulting from migration, or under behavioral theory.

The attempt to place the study of adjustment of migrants in contect raises the question of how unified is migration research and comcomitantly raises questions as to whether a comprehensive theory of migration is desirable, available, or possible.

There is general agreement that, on the whole, studies of migration are neither unified nor well-grounded in any theory, and certainly not a comprehensive theory. Mangalam estimated that less than one-fifth of the studies included in his bibliography were guided by explicit hypotheses; and of these hypothesis, most were ad hoc hypotheses, not derived from any organized body of theory. Petersen (1970) found that the theoretical frameworks into which studies of international migration were fitted were usually "rather primitive."[4] Kleiner (1969), discussing migration and mental disorder wrote:

> (W)e were struck not only by the lack of consistency in the findings, but also by the fact relatively few studies have utilized existing theoretical formulations in their research designs. This lack of systematic theory has resulted in frequent use of such post hoc concepts as "culture

> shock" to explain findings . . . (T)he lack of studies done within comprehensive and unified theoretical frameworks has resulted largely in gathering discrete and unrelated bits of evidence.[5]

Similarly Streuning et al. (1969) decried our "fragmentary understanding of migration patterns."[6] Fuller (1970) blamed social scientists studying rural-to-urban adjustment for not having had "the capacity, or the will, to make studies additive and to extract a fund of knowledge from them."[7]

There have been various attempts to provide a comprehensive theory. For example, Mangalam attempted to fill the void as he saw it with a social organization theory into which migration phenomena could be placed. He called his theory "A General Theoretical Orientation for the Study of Society."[8] Drawing on the work of Talcott Parsons, Mangalam distinguished three systems in social organizations, these being the culture system, the social system, and the personality system. In what he saw as "a step toward a general theory of migration," Petersen devised his well-known "general typology of migration."[9] Perhaps the most unique aspect of Petersen's typology is the division of migration into two types, conservative and innovative. After roundly criticizing studies in rural worker adjustment to urban life, Fuller presented a research grid which, he said, "does not exhort as to what should have been . . . (but) does lay out some of the possibilities that would have entered into comprehensive development of knowledge."[10] The grid calls for consideration of three aspects of assimilation by type of migrant. The three aspects are the following: (1) occupation and employment;

(2) community and social life; and (3) gains and losses: economic, social, and personal. Examples of types of migrant are youth and part-time farmers.

Pryor questioned whether there can be one broadly-based explanatory/predictive theory. He wrote, "Conceptual inadequacies, and the constraints of current data availability and analytical techniques, require a (qualified?) negative answer at this stage of human environmental research."[11] In the face of his doubts, however, Pryor offered a relatively comprehensive conceptual scheme, which he called, "A Paradigm of Internal Migration."[12] The scheme considers mainly sociological units of study, for example, "economic development and modernisation status." But two units of study, "major initiating factors" and "major integrating factors," include such psychological concerns as "individual adjustive factors." As Pryor himself pointed out, "the extent to which the various aspects of the paradigm can be made operational in migration research remains to be seen."[13]

Though the difficulties of devising a useful, comprehensive theory of migration are manifold and perhaps insurmountable, there is extensive agreement that migration research has been unduly fragmented. With reference only to psychological aspects of migration, David (1960) called for a more unified approach to research. He suggested, "It is time to bring together, in a single source book, what has been learned about the psychological dynamics of migration, develop hypotheses based on the experience of field workers, and plan coordinated empirical research on an international basis."[14]

Placing the study of adjustment of migrants in context, as we have done, reveals the colossal extent of the domain of migration research. In this domain, the adjustment of migrants is merely a subsection under "consequences of migration." Furthermore, the type of adjustment with which we are concerned here is merely one of several processes which have been termed "adjustment." Sometimes called "personal adjustment" in the literature, this kind of adjustment may be broadly defined as adaptation to or fitting into a new environment so that the migrant has a sense of psychological well-being and of acceptance into the community.

The difficulty is that this kind of adjustment is often subsumed under such terms as absorption, acculturation, adaptation, assimilation, and integration. For example, Johnston (1969) defines subjective assimilation as being indistinuishable from, and psychologically identifying with, natives of the new environment.[15] Obviously, a migrant who was subjectively assimilated in Johnston's sense of the term, would probably also be adusted to the new environment. On the other hand, a migrant could be adjusted to his new environment without being thus assimilated. Because of the existence of overlapping terms, literature on absorption, acculturation, etc. must be included in the following review.

On the ground that some researchers have noted the essential sameness of international and internal migration (Fried (1969); Beijer (1963)), literature on both types of migration is reviewed here. Unless the discussion warrants otherwise, distinctions are not made among internal migrant, immigrant or emigrant. The term migrant is generally used. The distinction between voluntary and involuntary migrants (refugees), however, is retained.

General Literature on Adjustment of Migrants

To facilitate discussion, and because theory is a primary concern in this thesis, the general literature on adjustment is divided into two categories: literature with some theoretical grounding, at least explicit, albeit *ad hoc*, hypotheses; and literature lacking theoretical grounding, mainly descriptive literature.

Theoretical literature

The theoretical literature is appropriately categorized according to Merton's classification of "range" in sociological theory:[16] higher-level (master conceptual schemes); middle-range (evolved during routine research); and lower-level (minor working hypotheses). In addition, there is some distinction according to emphasis, that is, sociological, social-psychological, or psychological.[17] This focus on theory derives, of course, from the fact that a major purpose of the thesis is to examine the utility of a particular theory.

Higher-level theories. In the category of higher-level sociological theory is Mangalam's scheme (1968), which was discussed previously. A "General Systems Theory," developed by Mabogunje (1970) can also be placed in this category. Mabogunje's theory recognizes four components in the migration "environment;" these are Economic, Social, Technological and Governmental.

Slightly less comprehensive, and with a more social-psychological emphasis, are the previously discussed conceptualizations of Pryor (1971) and Fuller (1970).

Middle-range theories. Middle-range theory, according to Merton, evolves during routine research; accordingly, most of the theories categorized here as middle-range were applied to actual studies.

Perhaps the most often quoted study of adjustment of migrants is one by Eisenstadt (1954). Eisenstadt had two purposes: (1) to analyze the process of absorption of various waves of immigrants to Palestine and Israel, and (2) to provide "a systematic sociological framework for the analysis of migration and the absorption of immigrants in modern societies."[18] Eisenstadt's "fundamental postulates"[19] are that migration is a process of desocialization, and that absorption is a process of resocialization. Desocialization occurs as the migrants, usually in small groups, experience a general shrinkage of their field of social participation, losing most of their social roles, their reference groups, and communication links between their primary groups and the society. Replacing all that is lost are mere expectations of future roles and identifications. The unstructured, incompletely defined situation produces anxiety and insecurity in the migrants. The desire to overcome this insecurity, along with the original reasons for the migration, provide the motivation to become resocialized, that is, absorbed into the new society. Resocialization occurs in three stages: (1) acquiring language and necessary skills, (2) learning to perform roles necessary in the new society, and (3) rebuilding a status-image by acquiring a new set of values, and testing it out in relation to new roles.

Eisenstadt pointed out that there is always a question as to the extent to which the new society permits the migrant's aspirations to be realized.

Although Eisenstadt viewed his scheme as merely descriptive and exploratory, he defined and "construed"[20] six variables. These variables, in abbreviated form are as follows:

Independent Variables

(1) reason for migration

(2) social structure of the migration process

(3) institutionalization of behavior in the new country (roles, values, indentification)

(4) institutionalization of migrant behavior from the point of view of the new country (possibilities open to the migrant)

Dependent Variables

(5) emergence of a pluralistic structure in the new country

(6) disintegrative behavior on the part of both migrants and older members of the society (possibility of institutional disorganization and change).

Eisenstadt reported that his data came from government surveys, contemporary history, and various but insufficient systematic sociological researches, mainly at the Hebrew University. He anticipated that more extensive researches would add detail and further test his scheme.

Borrie (1959) prepared a detailed report of the Unesco Conference on the Cultural Integration of Immigrants, held at Havana in 1956. (Eisenstadt was a major contributor to this conference.) In his synthesis of papers, and statements by rapporteurs, Borrie devoted several chapters to theory and practice, under three headings. These headings are (1) Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration; (2) Individual, Family and Community; and (3) Education, and the Media of Mass Communication. Following are several points from his discussion which are relevant here.

In discussing the conference's use of the term adjustment, Borrie emphasized that as countries admit greater cultural differentiation, migrants tend to proceed toward uniformity only at some levels, while preserving differences at other levels. He concluded, "The process of adjustment was seen as one which is generally accompanied by subgroups being accommodated within the total social framework, while wholly or partially absorbed in various sectors or isolates of that framework."[21] In the adjustment process, at least three factors are always seen as important, according to Borrie. These factors are (1) predisposition of the immigrants to change; (2) predisposition of the receiving society to recognize differences; and (3) degree of stability of the social-cultural structure of the receiving area. Other important sociological factors which affect adjustment are the size of the interacting groups, previous immigration of similar groups, and cultural differences between the groups.

Borrie's recommendations for action on the part of officials in the receiving country emphasized the following: recognizing leaders of social and cultural groups in the area of origin; integrating the elite classes; providing positive early experiences in connection with reception; and most crucial, insuring reasonable occupational choice and opportunity for occupational mobility.

A basic principle of immigration policy, and according to Borrie, a matter of social justice, is that the migrant must be provided with every reasonable opportunity to establish normal family relationships. A family should be kept together, and the whole family, not just the breadwinner, should proceed toward adjustment to the new community. Borrie was one of the few writers who considered the situation of the migrant wife. He wrote:

> (T)he need is to apply positive aids to integration. . . to reduce differences in the rates of adjustment among members of the family group. Generally this means that community activity should concentrate on the mother in the home who, because of her domestic activities--and sometimes too because a less democratic outlook concerning the social role of the mother may prevail among immigrants--is generally least exposed to forces making for cultural change and integration.[22]

Borrie suggested that the school can serve as an important link between home and community.

Another international conference on migration, mental health, and community services (Geneva, 1966) included among its contributors Bar-Josef, Klineberg, and Palgi.

Bar-Josef (1966), like Eisenstadt, studied the absorption of immigrants to Israel. She also analyzed migration and adjustment as processes of desocialization and resocialization. (Bar-Josef credited role and identity theorists with providing the theoretical basis of this approach.) The details added by her study centre around a transitional period for migrants, and three "transactions" between the migrant and his social environment. The transactions are classified under the headings: (1) the material environment; (2) the organizational environment; and (3) the informal social environment. Bar-Josef concentrated on the migrant's transactions with the governmental bureaucracy (which is part of the organizational environment). She concluded that the bureaucratic situation is degrading and desocializing, at least from the point of view of the migrant.

Klineberg (1966) was interested in how attributes of ethnic groups affect the migrants' perceptions of themselves and their acceptance by the community. He distinguished three components of "attitudes". These components are; (1) cognitive (images, stereotypes); (2) affective (feelings about ethnic groups); and (3) conative (prevailing institutions in the community).

Palgi (1966) studied the adaptive process of various immigrant groups to Israel within a theoretical frame emphasizing premigration experience, particularly as it relates to values. If the migrants' values are in harmony with those of the receiving society, though not necessarily the same, and if the migrants can "be linked into the social system, by performing roles which are expressive of at least one of the prized values of the country,"[23] assimilation is facilitated.

Synthesizing previous theories, Rose (1969) developed a "theory of acceptance of migrants" for use in his study of international migrants in Europe. He proposed that acceptance and integration of foreigners is a function of (1) the openness of the host society; (2) the degree of the immigrant's attachment to the society of origin; and (3) the similarity of the cultures in the donor and host countries. As dependent variables, Rose used (1) change of cultural patterns to those of the host society; (2) large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society, on a primary group level; (3) large-scale intermarriage; (4) development of a sense of people-hood, based exclusively on the host society; and (5) absence of value and power conflict.

Brody (1969) edited a volume based on documents prepared for a conference on "Migration and Behavioral Deviance," which was held in Puerto Rico in 1968. The volume focuses on adaptation in terms of economic absorption, cultural integration, and psychological adaptation.

In the introductory chapter Brody presented a social-psychological framework within which to view the consequences of migration. He defined psychological adaptation as "the process of establishing and maintaining a relatively stable reciprocal relationship with the . . . human, social, or interpersonal environment."[24] Adaptation is determined by a mix of intrapsychic and interpersonal elements, including the following: "the individual's past history and his repertory of defensive and adaptive techniques; his private motivations for the move; the public push and pull factors in the donor and host environments;

other elements in the two environments, including the consonance of their norms and resistance or receptor networks encountered in the host system; and transitional factors."[25] The migrant may be seen as "a mutually interacting member of a subunit of a social system,"[26] which provides output to him and to which he provides input. In the new environment, change continues indefinitely and is usually adaptive.

More psychological in emphasis than any of the works discussed up to this point is Weinberg's pilot investigation of mental health and personal adjustment of migrants to Israel.

Weinberg began with what he called a "preliminary working hypotheses. It postulated, "Positive mental health is characterized by free, undisturbed, interpersonal and intrapersonal relations; mental ill health by unfree, disturbed, interpersonal and intrapersonal relations."[27] He also assumed that "a relation might be ascertained between the immigrants' present mental health and their adjustment to the new sociocultural environment, the general adjustment, between these variables and mental health in former periods of life, and between them and child-parent relationships and other variables on interpersonal relationships in childhood and later."[28]

Perhaps Weinberg's most distinctive contribution was in clarifying terms and analytically separating personal adjustment into different types and forms. Louis Guttman wrote that essentially Weinberg saw mental health as a state and personal adjustment as a process, with adjustability an intervening variable.[29] Weinberg defined personal adjustment as "a psychodynamic regulator of psychic homeostasis,"[30] and distinguished three types of personal adjustment: (1) active (shaping suitable conditions of life); (2) passive (affiliation with sheltering surroundings); and (3) psychosomatic (appropriate functioning of the vegetative system). Three forms of active personal adjustment are (a) general (adjustment to sociocultural conditions); (b) ecological (adjustment to physical surroundings); and (c) selective (choosing the most suitable environment). Three facets of the process of personal adjustment are (1) adjustability (the ability to adjust); (2) adjustiveness (the process of closing the adjustive gap); and (3) adjustment. The adjustive gap is the difference between potential mental health, as limited by adjustability, and present mental health. Weinberg defined the term adjustment, as opposed to personal adjustment, as "the outcome of a process involving adjustability and the state of mental health, i.e. the characterization of a person simultaneously by his adjustability and his state of mental health."[31]

Weinberg reported in meticulous detail the methodology and findings of his study, which involved lengthy depth interviews with ninety-nine migrant students in an Ulpan in Jerusalem, supplemented by 317 written questionnaires and some projective tests.

The dependent variables were presented as two pairs: mental health and general adjustment; and psychosomatic complaints, and at-home feeling in the Ulpan. Interrelations between these variables were investigated along with their relations to 108 independent variables. Weinberg divided the independent variables into ten groups; these are: (1) mental health in former life; (2) physical health in present and former life; (3) character traits; (4) childhood experiences; (5) sexual life; (6) social contacts; (7) persecution before immigration; (8) experiences in Israel; (9) occupation; and (10) integration.

Weinberg believed that his initial working hypothesis was confirmed by his investigation. He concluded that personal adjustment and mental health are interrelated as on a "closed function circuit."[32] At the end of his study, Weinberg was most impressed by the migrant's need for a sense of belonging in the new community.

Adler (1975) provided another psychological view of the adaptation process, which he called "the transitional experience." He contended that "the problems and frustrations encountered in the culture shock process are important to an understanding of change and movement experiences, and . . . such transitional experiences can be the source of higher levels of personality development."[33] In a five-phase sequence the successfully adapting migrant moves from a state of low self and cultural awareness to a state of high self and cultural awareness. During the initial "contact" phase the migrant views the new environment from the insularity of his own ethnocentrism, feeling the excitement and euphoria of new experience. The second stage, "disintegration," brings confusion and disorientation, and sometimes even alienation, depression and withdrawal, as the migrant feels isolated and unable to interpersonally or socially predict. During the third stage, "reintegration," the migrant's rejection of the second culture enables him to act on feelings, and becomes the basis for new emotional and cognitive experiences. In the fourth phase, "autonomy," the migrant comes to feel relaxed and expert in the second culture; but it is not until the fifth phase, "independence," that he is able to view himself and others as influenced by culture and upbringing, and to draw nourishment from cultural differences, exercising both choice and responsibility. Adler concludes with the hope that understanding of change experiences will challenge ethnocentrism, chauvinism, and nationalism.

Lower-level theories. The studies discussed in this section are guided by minor working hypotheses.

Burchinal and Jackson (1963),in studying the adjustment of farm and nonfarm families to an urban environment in Iowa, hypothesized that the farm-to-urban migrant adolescents would be different from nonmigrants or urban migrants with respect to (1) parent-adolescent relations; (2) parental interest in school and school activities; (3) personality scores; and (4) participation in school-related and community organizations. They based their hypotheses on the premise that differences among migrants and native urbanites are related to differences in previous socialization. The expectation was that the farm-to-urban migrants would be somewhat disadvantaged; however, in general the null hypotheses could not be rejected.

Relevant studies from Brody's edited work are briefly summarized here. Schwarzweller and Crowe found support for their thesis that Appalachian migrants were assisted in their adaptation to the industrial work situation by "the particular and particularistic nature" of the work situation; by the "normative equivalencies" in the donor and recipient subsystems; and the supportive functions performed by the kinship network.[34]

Also studying Appalachian migrants, Schwarzweller and Brown found support for the hypothesis that a family's social class position in the area of origin significantly influences the pattern of outmigration (age, destination), and economic, social and psychological aspects of adjustment to the new community.

Vaguely grounding his study in Weberian theory of the Protestant ethic, Shannon hypothesized that various interrelationships of race, ethnicity, religion, and sex would be related to social and social-psychological characteristics, which would influence economic absorption and cultural integration of migrants. Shannon failed to find the hypothesized pattern of differences among his sample of Protestant and Catholic Negroes, Anglos and Mexican Americans.

Waisanen, taking as a dependent variable a loosely defined attitudinal configuration of modernity, related to upward mobility, found evidence of hypothesized relationships between modernity and the independent variables: place of residence ("callampas" or Santiago); education; and income.

Examining the health area records of two New York boroughs, Struening, Rabkin, and Beck found support for their expectation that the stress of adaptation to a new social context would result in high rates of mental and physical illness and deviant behavior. They also found that ethnic variables played such different roles in predicting health and social problems in the different health areas that it was impossible to generalize on their effects.

In a particularly lucid paper, Kleiner and Parker report their finding that Negroes native to the Northern U.S.A. had higher rates of mental disorder than did Southern Negroes migrating to the North (contradicting a study in 1965 by Malzberg and Lee). They explain their finding in terms of social mobility, goal-striving behavior, and ethnic or racial identity. They posit that for the better-educated, more socially mobile Negro native to the North, discrepancy between aspiration and achievement, and weak or ambivalent ethnic identification cause stresses conducive to mental disorder.

In her extensive study of the assimilation of Polish migrants to Australia, Johnston (1965) hypothesized relations between many psychological and sociological independent variables and two dependent variables, external and subjective assimilation. Subjective assimilation, the definition of which is drawn from reference group theory, involves psychological identification with the natives of the new environment. This kind of assimilation was found to be associated with only three of the independent variables; these three are (1) lack of a notion of cultural superiority; (2) positive opinions about Australians; and (3) feelings of not being rejected. As Johnston pointed out, it appears that psychological variables are the key ones in determining subjective assimilation. Later, Johnston (1969) examined the subjective assimilation of the offspring of the Polish migrants, finding that only fifty-nine per cent of the children were subjectively assimilated, boys more than girls.

In a Canadian study, Jackson and Poushinsky (1971) were guided by exchange theory in developing a causal model to predict community satisfaction on the part of migrants to Northern mining communities. They reasoned that the migrant attempts to maximize pleasures and satisfactions in exchange for living in a certain area. Regression analyses were run to find, for example, that seventy-four per cent of the variance in community satisfaction was explained by age, high education, participation in voluntary organizations, work satisfaction, job security, things to do, and shopping.

Non-theoretical literature

Included in this section are bibliographies, surveys of migration, literature and descriptive studies.

Bibliographies by Mangalam (1968) and Pryor (1971) and an assessment of research on rural-to-urban adjustment by Fuller (1970) have been discussed previously. Two other note-worthy works are a bibliography of migration research, mainly British, compiled by Welch (1970), and an inventory of data and studies of rural-to-urban adjustment in Europe by Beijer (1963). Beijer not only amassed and summarized a great many works on internal migration in a dozen European countries, but he also discussed these works, discovering a number of general trends. Two of his main conclusions with regard to adjustment are that time is an important factor in the adjustment process, and that the newcomer "reacts above all mentally to his new environment. . .with his own temperament in his own way."[35]

Three extensive surveys of literature on various aspects of migration are included in the volume edited by Brody. In investigating deprivation as a factor in motivation to migrate and adjustment after migration, Fried (1969) surveyed a wide range of literature, from which he found it difficult to draw unambiguous conclusions. However, in comparing the history and achievement of black and white migrants in the U.S., he concluded that although all migrant groups have suffered from discrimination, the Negroes have suffered most. He argued, "(O)ur society must undergo radical institutional change in order to eliminate widespread racism and the ready rejection of ethnic and cultural differences."[36]

David (1969) surveyed the world refugee situation, discussed the dynamics of involuntary migration, summarized reports of adjustment after migration in several countries, and concluded with implications for intervention.

Sanua (1969) reviewed a number of studies linking migration with mental disorders (with emphasis on schizophrenia), and found that many of these studies lacked comparability and even produced contradictory findings. Sanua tentatively suggested that some of the differences and discrepancies among the various studies are due to intervening variables such as the characteristics of the migrant, the motivation behind the migration, and the type of new environment in which the migrant resides. He suggested that internationally coordinated research in mental illness would be valuable.

Among the descriptive studies, there are considerable differences in usefulness and quality. Zimmer (1963), for example, might be accused of discovering the obvious when he found that migrants to urban areas differ from the natives in their level of participation in organizations, but become more similar to the natives the longer they live in the community. On the other hand, there may be important implications for social policy in Fabrega's finding (1969) that among Mexican American migrants to Texas there was less likelihood of psychiatric problems if the migrants were committed to either of the extremes on a tradionalist-nontraditionalist continuum, rather than being in an intermediate position.

Longitudinal studies are often recommended in the literature but rarely found. The two descriptive longitudinal studies reviewed below vary considerably in quality.

Over a period of three years Hanson and Simmons (1969) conducted a month-by-month study of sixty-six rural-to-urban Spanish-American migrants. The time factor was not well controlled, however, since the migrants' experience in the city ranged from two to seven years. The inclusion of maternity expense in the "misfortune expense" index raises questions as to the validity of at least this index. Two major conclusions of the study are that for those in good health upon arrival and with high socioeconomic status, unsuccessful adjustment depends upon emergent phenomena; while for those with low socioeconomic status, one of two key attributes is health. Obviously, the inconsistent consideration of health reduces the worth of the comparison. On the basis of their study Hanson and Simmons type the migrants as "Thrivers," "Stumblers," "Strugglers," and "losers." But given the small size of the so categorized groups (as few as ten subjects) and the weaknesses of the study, the categorization may be unreliable, and even flippant.

Ex's longitudinal study (1966) of forty exiled Indonesian families who migrated to the Netherlands is superior to the Hanson-Simmons study in design and contrasts with it in the cautious nature of its conclusions. The group of subjects in Ex's study was quite homogeneous as to age and socioeconomic status, and all were interviewed within two months of their arrival in the new community. Ex insisted that the aim of his research was not to test hypotheses. He argued that hypothesizing would be premature since "with regard to (the) process of adjustment. . .we know practically nothing with sufficient accuracy."[37] Accordingly, at the end of his study Ex offered only "suppositions" as to factors that promote or hinder adjustment. Fourteen suppositions were offered, two of which correspond to the psychological variables that Johnston found significant in the adjustment process. These two factors are: (1) level at which the migrant believes the autochthon judges him (corresponding to the feeling of not being rejected); and (2) level at which the migrant evaluates the autochthon (corresponding to "positive opinions about Australians"). However, others of Ex's suppositions were not supported by the Johnston research.

Of particular interest in the present context is Leon and Martin's description and assessment (1969) of the Seattle Orientation Centre, which provided a transitional setting for Alaskan natives (mainly Eskimos) on their way to training or employment in the U.S. mainland. The authors reported high association between predictions of success in adjustment and outcome. (The predictions were made by authorities at the Seattle Orientation Centre.) However, since the predictions were forwarded to authorities at the migrants' relocation sites, the predictions may have worked as self-fulfilling prophecies.

A work which stands apart from others reviewed here is Handlin's The Uprooted (1951, revised 1973). Though he is a social scientist, Handlin abandoned the social scientist's approach to the study of adjustment of migrants, writing instead a subjective and rather poetic description of the average European immigrant's experience in the U.S.A. Handlin wrote:

> (I)t is a simplification to imagine, as some commentators have, that I applied social science theory to my data. I never declared allegiance to a coherent system. Nor did I test hypotheses.[38]

Yet Handlin's work is not merely impressionistic. It draws on the author's personal experience, reflection as well as reading, but it is also grounded in research. Summary is impossible here, but it could be noted that, like others, Handlin argued for the maintenance of roots in ethnic identity.

Recommendations

Various writers have made recommendations for, or have investigated resources for assisting the migrant. Borrie (1959) included in his book a seventeen-point list, which he called "an ideal schedule of an immigrant's rights."[39] The list had been drawn up in 1951 by a Conference of Non-governmental Organizations interested in Migration. Pfister-Ammende (1960) presented to the eleventh annual meeting of the World Federation for Mental Health eleven suggestions for promoting the mental health of migrants.[40] Brody (1969) concluded his volume with a chapter on preventive planning and strategies of intervention, and in the same book David presented an annotated list of resources for refugees. Adler (1975) saw in the model of the transitional experience a possible framework for training and simulation models to prepare people for change experiences.

Female migrants

Although undoubtedly much of the general literature on the adjustment of migrants is relevant to both male and female migrants, there is an over-riding tendency to look at the adjustment process from the point of view of the head of the family or the breadwinner. Beijer, in his extensive review of European migration literature (1963) noted that "very little attention" had been paid to the adjustment of wives and children. A related point was made by Mangalam (1969) when he wrote, "One seldom, if ever, comes across sex role and its relationships to the migration phenomenon."[41] Male sex roles are usually assumed. Borrie's concern with reducing differences in rates of adjustment among family members, mentioned previously, is exceptional.

One of the few people to consider migrant wives is Stacy (1960). In her descriptive study of migrants to Banbury, England, she noted the ease with which husbands made friends among their workmates, while the wives were dependent upon their husbands for social contacts. She found that the wife usually looked back nostalgically on her life in the previous residence, regretting the loss of contact with friends and relatives. Many wives, Stacy found, looked forward to being liberated from caring for young children and eagerly anticipated going out to work.

Literature Pertaining to Canadian Natives

General comments

Although there is a considerable body of ideological literature on whether or not natives should migrate to urban areas, and some descriptive literature on what happens to native migrants to urban areas, there has been very little study of factors affecting adjustment of native migrants. The present study is apparently unique in its focus on native wives. In spite of the paucity of literature directly pertaining to the problem at hand, it is useful to review in general terms, for background purposes, available literature on migration of Canadian natives.

The heterogeneity of various Indian, Inuit, and to a lesser extent, Metis, tribes, bands, settlements or colonies, has often been mentioned in the literature. On the other hand, Vallee (1971), Nagler (1975), and Berger (1977) have provided precedents for discussing Inuit, Indian and Metis peoples generally as natives or "Native Peoples"[42] with many common characteristics and concerns. Minority status as indigenous peoples within a dominant white society is the most potent of the unifying factors.

Few of the sociological studies of native adjustment to life in a white-dominated society are grounded in theory or guided by even ad hoc hypotheses. There are, however, noteworthy exceptions. Hirabayashi (1963) hypothesized that what appears to be apathetic behavior on the part of the Metis is actually a positive mode of adjustment to the environment. Abu-Laban (1965) found support for his hypothesis that

Indian students who live under conditions that heighten their social visibility and enhance intra-group interaction would retain their ethnic identity, even while attending an integrated high school. Zentner (1972) found support for three hypotheses pertaining to Indian and non-Indian attitudes toward high school graduation. Generally he found that Indian parents and students were rapidly developing attitudes favorable to high school graduation.

With few exceptions, the great preponderance of literature on native migration to and/or adjustment to urban white society is descriptive, and non-theoretical. Some of this literature is derived from questionnaire-based surveys, for example, A Northern Dilemma: Edging into Mainstream, by Davis (1965) and parts of A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada, edited by Hawthorn (1966). In 1972, however, Dosman reported that such surveys, based on questionnaires or lengthy interviews, had come to be unanimously rejected by Indian groups, and therefore were no longer possible. In consequence, Dosman based his book, Indians: The Urban Dilemma (1972), on indirect data-gathering techniques, such as participant observation, unstructured conversations, and association with Indian organizations. Similarly Frideres, in gathering data for his book, Canadian Indians: Contemporary Conflicts (1974), did not conduct his own surveys, but relied instead on data from previous surveys, for example, the Davis and Hawthorn surveys, and on reports from Statistics Canada and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Much of the descriptive literature is exhortative in nature, advocating measures in accord with the author's ideological commitments. Obviously, this ideological component introduces subjectivity into the literature. For example, Frideres, who advocates retaining the reserve system, reported data on discrimination from two other studies, but gave the data his own, different interpretation. In both studies ten per cent of the native respondents reported that they had suffered discrimination. Frideres commented:

> I do not think that this low rate of reported discrimination is a true indication. In a case of discrimination, the person doing it becomes more powerful than his victim and thus able to direct his life. The situation is extremely uncomfortable and ego deflating for the victim. As a result, people tend to dismiss the objective act of discrimination or provide a "motive" for the discrimination to nullify its impact, e.g.: "He didn't really mean what he said; he was just having a bad day."[43]

Reading the minds of respondents is a questionable data-gathering technique at any time, but especially so when one has never met the respondents.

Discussion of native involvement in white society has for decades been colored by various and shifting ideological positions. The nineteen seventies have produced such changes in these positions, and in their adherents, that it is appropriate to discuss separately the literature prior to and after 1970.

Literature prior to 1970

In 1969 Deprez and Sigurdson stereotyped two extremes along a range of positions which had affected public policy regarding the native population. They designated the two extreme positions the romantic and the imperialistic.

The romantic position posited that the Indian could be at peace with himself only if he were allowed to function in his natural environment. It was argued that the economic, social and cultural traditions were so strong that no Indian would want to give them up. Any attempt to integrate the Indian into industrial society would produce new tensions and increase alienation. Deprez and Sigurdson saw four corollaries resulting from this position. These were that (1) the harshness of life on the land produced a strong communal sense and high valuation of sharing; (2) since the Indian's status was not linked to wealth, he was not acquisitive; (3) the tempo of life was geared to the seasons and the vagaries of weather, not the clock; and (4) for the Indian, involvement in any occupation other than the traditional ones, fishing, hunting, and trapping, would impinge on his cultural integrity.

Few, if any sociological studies were based on the romantic position. Nevertheless, the position had, and to some extent still has, its proponents. For example, Fridtjof Nansen, in his Preface to The People of the Twilight, by Jenness (1928) wrote of the Eskimos:

> A charming people of happy children, not yet stung by the venom of our culture, not burdened by the intricate problems and acid dissatisfaction of our society. Starving sometimes perhaps when food is scarce (but that does not last long); and when food is plentiful life is laughing happiness with no sorrows of the past and none for the morrow.[44]

According to the imperialistic position, the Indian should recognize the futility of his situation on the reserve and should prepare to avail himself of the economic opportunities available only in the external society. A basic assumption is that the Indian must increase his economic self-reliance and the benefits of so doing would outweigh any social, cultural and psychological detriments. Four corollaries of the imperialistic position are that (1) since the economic potential of the traditional occupations is limited, the Indian must seek employment in modern industry; (2) the economic potential of the reserve is assumed to be very limited, so the Indian must leave the reserve; (3) since Indian culture has its roots in hunting, fishing, trapping, pursuits which are outdated, the Indian culture itself is not viable; and (4) the reserve and its culture are impediments to the Indian's progress.

In 1965 Davis wrote:

> We believe that such rural settlements (Metis villages and Indian reserves), because they lack the economic and motivational resources for evolving into modern communities, should be recognized for what they are--outdoor custodial institutions. Subsidies should not ordinarily be increased, either in the form of direct allowances or in the form of make-work programs. Rather, subsidies should be limited, perhaps sometimes reduced, in order to increase the "push" out of substandard communities without a future. Simultaneously, funds and programs should be made available for voluntary relocation. In brief, prod from behind, and put a big bunch of juicy carrots in front.[45]

The quotation from Davis better illustrates the imperialistic position than does any of the other literature included in this review.

According to Deprez and Sigurdson, there is a popular consensus between the two extremes. This intermediate position accepts the necessity of action in order to improve the material conditions of the

Indian's life. It also recognizes that Indians have a distinctive culture. Deprez and Sigurdson wrote,

> Because of the existence of distinct social and cultural barriers to be overcome in involving the Indians in more meaningful and productive economic activities, any attempt to do so must be preceded by: a) formal education as well as adult education in the basic skills of literacy.
> b) vocational training.
> c) industrial life orientation in which the values of the white dominant society are taught (i.e. regularity, reliability, budgeting, saving. . .)[46]

The intermediate position, to which Deprez and Sigurdson adhered, more closely resembles the imperialistic than the romantic position.

Deprez and Sigurdson also described two methods of tackling "the Indian problem." One method was based on "the bottleneck conception," according to which advance in a particular direction is considered a pre-condition to success in other directions. The prevailing tendency, according to the authors, has been to see education as the critical factor. The other method of tackling "the Indian problem" was based on "the vicious circle conception," according to which progress is seen as dependent upon simultaneous advance in several directions. Deprez and Sigurdson defended this method, arguing for the following: an expanded economic base both within the reserves and in the surrounding areas, so that employment can coincide with residence on the reserve; education and manpower training; interim welfare support; outmigration and assistance in handling social and psychological upheaval involved in migration; and fair treatment by employers to ensure permanent jobs with reasonable opportunity for upward mobility.

Deprez and Sigurdson considered the bottleneck emphasis on education an oversimplification. However, the emphasis on education bears more comment here. In terms of numbers of native children being educated, the emphasis has had a dramatic impact. In 1949 only 611 Canadian Indians were in high school; in 1963 the figure was 3,830.[47] In 1950 only 15% of young people in the Northwest Territories had had any schooling; by 1969 the percentage had jumped to between 95 and 98.[48]

Education has not been entirely advantageous for the young natives. Brant and Hobart (1966) found that in the North a main objective of education was cultural replacement. The teachers were Southerners; the instruction was in English; the curriculum was a transplant from Southern Canada; almost half of the students were taken from their homes and submerged for the school term in the physically comfortable but foreign environment of residential schools. The authors questioned the right of white planners to decide what cultures should survive. Moreover, they found that much of the education was inappropriate and possibly "dis-educative from the standpoint of preparation for the life the children will lead as adults."[49] In a radio talk Hobart summed up the results of the educational system in the North. He said that some young people were in university who would not otherwise have been. "On the other hand," he said, "there are unhappy, useless and troublesome young people in some northern settlements who cannot go back to life on the land after living the easy life of the residential schools, but who cannot provide for themselves in town either."[50] Similarly Deprez and Sigurdson found that education was to some extent disadvantageous to native youth when it was not accompanied by economic opportunities. Under such circumstances, they said, education disenchants and alienates.

On a master balance sheet, however, education possibly brought more assets than liabilities to natives. Berger commented, "Without it (education) native people would have been even less able to understand and cope with the changes taking place in the North and with the new institutional and administrative forms that were being imposed upon them."[51] Berger's observation is generally applicable to all Canadian natives and has particular relevance for native migrants.

Literature of the seventies

Very likely education of natives was indeed the "critical factor" in producing the great change in the literature concerning Canadian natives written in the seventies, compared with literature written prior to the seventies. The difference in the literature is that natives themselves are now articulating their own concerns.* (Sometimes white "consultants" play a part in formulating the articulations.) In 1975 Defeathering the Indian, a "handbook for Native Studies," was published. The author was Emma LaRoque, a well-educated Canadian native. A book such as this has few if any precedents in Canada, partly because there were previously few natives in a position, that is, well enough educated, to write such a book, and partly because Canadian society has only recently begun to accept the right of natives to speak for themselves.

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* Harold Cardinal's The Unjust Society, though published in 1969, belongs in the category of works of the seventies. Certainly it has made its impact mainly during the seventies.

There is no doubt that the native movement has grown in strength during the seventies, but natives do not yet speak with one voice. In 1971 Vallee noted growing cultural uniformity among Indians, Eskimos and Metis in the Northwest Territories. To some extent government education and health and welfare programs had contributed to the homogenization; to an even greater extent increasing contact with non-natives had aligned natives in an effort to defend against the encroachments of white society. However, Vallee predicted that the pan-Indian-Eskimo-Metis movement, which was in its early stages in 1971, would not develop fully in the near future. While Vallee may have been surprized at the show of strength of the Indian Brotherhood during the Berger Inquiry of 1977, events have generally borne out his prediction.

The diversity of positions regarding the place of natives in Canadian society, taken by various native movements, cannot be described simply on a continuum from romantic to imperialistic, though these positions still exist. Elliott (1971) devised a typology of various positions, from the point of view of the minority group, here, the natives. The typology is reproduced below.[52] Undoubtedly, for each of the eight positions, a native spokesman could be found.

There are, however, important native positions which cannot adequately be categorized in Elliott's typology. For example, "the Dene Declaration"[53] is more separatist than segregationist, but it is essentially non-militant. But the position which appears to be gathering support and may eventually gather the greatest number of adherents, both native and non-native, is the pluralistic position of the National Indian Brotherhood. Adherents of this position seek to integrate with and at the same time significantly change the dominant society. A world-wide union of aboriginal peoples is foreseen. The position is most clearly stated by Manuel and Posluns in The Fourth World (1974):

> The present concern with ecological disasters vested upon Western man by his failure to recognize land, water, and air as social, not individual commodities, testifies to aboriginal man's values. . .(T)he Western world is gradually working its way out of its former value system and into the value system of the Aboriginal World. . .The emergence of the Fourth World (involves) the utilization of technology and its life-enhancing potential within the framework of the values of peoples of the Aboriginal World. . .Neither apartheid nor assimilation can be allowed to discolor the community of man in the Fourth World.[54]

The NIB position echoes in the writings of LaRoque (1975), Campbell (1973), Frideres (1974), and others. (To a considerable extent it is also in accord with the views of the Club of Rome.) Certainly this position has implications for the roles to be played by native migrants to white urban society.

Table 2.1 Minority Reaction to Subordinate Status

	Minority Strategy			
	Acceptance of the status quo of the dominant society		Rejection of the status quo of the dominant society	
Minority Goal	Passive	Active	Passive	Active
Entry into majority group	assimilation	anglo-conformity	involuntary segregation	militant integration
Survival as an ethnic group	accommodation	ethnocentrism	voluntary segregation	militant separation

Among official spokesmen for governmental and other agencies Vallee found "espousal of two ideals: cultural pluralism, the recognition of a group's right to cultural distinctiveness; and participation of native people in decisions affecting them."[55] These two ideals are compatible with the NIB position, and it could seem that ideological conflict between natives and non-natives were nearly ended. It would seem that adjustment of native migrants to white society were to be eased by acceptance of cultural pluralism and autonomy among the migrants. But the situation is not so simple. Vallee suggested that the two governmental ideals may be incompatible within themselves. Perhaps he had a foreboding that in the process of translating the ideals into action, at least one of the ideals would be sacrificed.

The seventies has produced a small amount of literature on the adjustment problems of Canadian native migrants to urban areas. The most moving of these is Campbell's autobiographical account of her experiences in Vancouver and Edmonton (1973). Both Nagler (1970) and Dosman (1972) developed typologies of native migrants to urban areas. Nagler's categorization is primarily descriptive and may be criticized for lack of mutual exclusiveness in the categories, which are: white collars, blue collars, transitionals, urban users, seasonal workers, and vagabonds. Dosman provided insightful discussion of situations of three groups: the Affluent, the Anomic, and the Welfare. Frideres (1974) was primarily interested in showing that because of the inhospitable nature of the urban environment, native migrants eventually return to the reserve. LaRoque emphasized that while it is useful to expose the problems of native migrants to urban areas, the success stories must not be overlooked. Finally, there are various articles, such as one by Oliver of Winnipeg Friendship Centre.[56] Bird proposed that prior to migration, preparatory work should be done on the reserve. To that end the Friendship Centre in Winnipeg has prepared a slide program on such topics as housing, welfare rights, the Landlord and Tenant Act, medical services, and educational employment opportunities. Bird also proposed an eight-week course in social skills for prospective migrants.

In his final analysis Dosman affirmed that the Anomic native migrant requires massive assistance and approved of efforts such as those Bird described. But he regretted the limited resources of various Indian organizations and the lack of enlightened leadership by Affluent Indians. He wrote that the Indians' "rising consciousness renders the forms of assistance of the official bureaucracies obsolete."[57] He concluded, "In short, there is no form of participation recognized in the literature which is relevant to this total problem."[58]

A psychological study of adaptation of Eskimos

Up to this point the Canadian literature discussed in this review has been more sociological than psychological. Following is a discussion of a unique psychological study. In 1970 the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development published a largely unnoticed report on "psychodynamic problems of adaptation on the part of Mackenzie Delta Eskimos." Written by Joseph Lubart, M.D. as part of the Mackenzie Delta Research Project, the report viewed adaptation problems in the light of character and personality traits produced by socialization in Eskimo culture.

Lubart presented a theory of basic personality involving the following ideas: (1) basic personality is drawn from an inventory of responses that are part of one's culture; (2) socializing mechanisms which promote cooperation and survival exact a price in the form of "unconscious structured patterns of emotional conflict;"[59] (3) in a situation of culture contact, old values and customs may lose their adaptive utility, and differences between cultures may produce misunderstanding, conflict and alienation; (4) the form of these disturbances will be related to conflict potentials inherent in the contacting cultures. An important principle in this theory is that generally "the greater the rewards, the more controllable are the inner tensions."[60]

Lubart analyzed environmental influences on the basic Eskimo personality. These influences are only partially summarized here. Food anxiety engendered cooperation, female infanticide, abandonment of the aged, and prohibited the accumulation of wealth. Hunting for subsistence inflated the male role. High mortality rates led to kindly and permissive child-rearing, and fear of "heavy emotional investment in interpersonal relations."[61]

Though Lubart discussed in considerable detail many aspects of the Eskimo basic personality, he singled out three points of tension. These are (1) male dominance, inflation of the male ego, and depreciation of the female; (2) female resentment of the male, and of the female role; (3) impounding of hostile and competitive impulses.[62] While the old culture was intact these patterns did little to disrupt harmony. But in a situation of contact with a technologically and politically more powerful culture, points of tension produced social pathology.

In the male, exposure to stresses beyond his experience produced failure, a sense of lost usefulness and lost opportunity for self-validation as a family provider. The emotional products were failing pride, anxiety, shame, self-hatred, and depression. Alcohol has been used for its anaesthetic or euphoriogenic effects to provide relief, regression to the narcissism of early childhood, and illusions of omnipotence. However, alcohol has also functioned to release inhibitions against expressing rage. Typically it has been other Eskimos, or dogs, who have been recipients of the resultant violence. In the competition for women the Eskimo male has frequently lost to the white man, sometimes suffering, as a result, impaired secual functioning.

In the female, resentment of the low status and hardships of the traditional Eskimo female role, and awareness of the higher status of the white woman in her own culture, have cause repudiation of the values of her Eskimo forebears. The female has attempted to identify with the white woman, but since she had no appropriate role model, has succeeded only in identifying with the trappings of the white woman. The result has been confusion as to identity, role, choice of love object, sources of self-esteem, and concepts of mature behavior. Predictably, the female's rejection of the land culture included rejection of the Eskimo male, whom she saw as a degraded figure, because of his vocational failure. Lubart commented on this point:

> In many interviews and personal contacts with young Eskimo women, (t)he patterns of negativism expressed or acted out with regard to the young males were so striking as to condition the presentiment that this conflict in the character structure of the female constitutes perhaps the major potential source for breakdown of Eskimo culture.[63]

Like the male, the Eskimo female has suffered from emotional conflict centering around a sense of racial and cultural inferiority. Like the male too, she has often been on the edge of depression, which she also has tried to relieve through drinking. Her search for love, frequently directed toward white men, has often been regressive in nature.

On the matter of derogatory self-perceptions held by both Eskimo males and females, Lubart hypothesized that these perceptions stem in part from the attitudes of the dominant group and the caste-like interethnic relations in the North. Here is another example of cultural differences producing conflict. Whites have been socialized to treat hedonism and living for the moment with contempt. Traditional Eskimos, on the other hand, whose existence was so precarious, were socialized to seize what pleasure they could from the moment.

It might be expected that a study so unique as Lubart's would have drawn some comment, negative or otherwise, in literature on native-white relations. If taken seriously, the study would partially neutralize the current belief in the culpability of the white man. But according to Dosman, white intellectuals would not welcome such a turn of events. Dosman wrote, "White would-be intellectuals are relieved to believe that they have been powerful and wicked in the past, and enjoy being constantly reminded of their guilt."[64] Whatever the reason, the Lubart study has seemingly sunk into oblivion without comment in the literature.

Known or not, the Lubart study obviously has discouraging implications for the adjustment of Inuit migrants to white Canadian communities.

Conclusion

The domain of migration research is a broad one, in which adjustment of migrants to their new environment is only a small section, usually categorized within the area of consequences of migration. Migration research is extremely fragmented. Although several comprehensive theories have been devised, they have not yet been used to unify research. Material touching upon the adjustment of migrants, as adjustment is defined in the present study, can be found in the literature subsumed under, or synonymous with, the terms absorption, acculturation, adaptation, assimilation and integration. Most studies of the adjustment of migrants are descriptive and non-theoretical. Among the theoretically grounded studies, those by Eisenstadt and Weinberg are most comprehensive and most often mentioned in the literature. In spite of the fragmentary nature of the research, a number of factors affecting adjustment have been isolated. There is considerable emphasis on psychological variables affecting the adjustment process (for example, Weinberg, Beijer, Johnston, and Sanua). There is an over-riding tendency in the literature to focus on the head of the family, or the breadwinner, that is to conceptualize the migrant as male.

Sociological literature on the Canadian natives' migration to urban areas is almost entirely non-theoretical, though some exceptions are noted. Much of the literature is written from the point of view of a particular ideology. A comparison of literature written prior to the seventies with that written during the seventies reveals that Canadian natives have recently authored some major works (for example, Manuel and Posluns). A work which appears to stand in a category by itself is a psychological study by Lubart in which Eskimo problems of adaptation are viewed in the light of basic Eskimo personality.

Migration research appears to be suffering the growing pains of social sciences in general. But in spite of fragmentation, ideological biases, and conflicting findings, there exists a small but growing body of knowledge about the adjustment process of migrants. As for the adjustment of Canadian native migrants to urban environments, the variety and intensity of the problems are well documented. How to deal with the problems is less clear. But the growing involvement of the native people themselves in the analysis of the problems and in the search for solutions seems entirely suitable.

CHAPTER III

THEORY

Components and Requirements of Theory

Selecting role theory. In studying the adjustment of migrants, our concerns are both psychological and sociological. We want to examine the adjustment of individuals and at the same time examine the impact of the social environment on the individual's adjustment. Therefore we require a theory that bridges psychology and sociology. Role theory has been described as "the theoretical point of articulation between psychology and sociology" in that it is "the largest possible research unit within the former discipline, and the smallest possible within the latter."[1] Role theory has therefore been selected as a promising theoretical base for this study of adjustment of migrants.

The use of role theory in studying the adjustment of migrants has some precedent in the works of Eisenstadt and Bar-Josef, which were discussed in chapter two. These works, however, drew on only a few concepts from role theory. In particular, the migrant's experience of losing and regaining roles was conceptualized as desocialization and resocialization. Another key concept in both works was that of reference groups. But role theory offers many other concepts relevant to the adjustment of migrants.

Before presenting and discussing role theory, it is useful to review the components and requirements of theory in general. Much of the following discussion is based on the Deutsch and Krauss textbook, Theories in Social Psychology.

Components of theory. Three components of theory are generally distinguished. These are the following:

(1) rules of correspondence that link constructs to the concrete data of observation

(2) theoretical constructs that permit the basic notions of the theory to be conceptualized in more or less familiar terms

(3) an abstract calculus that is the logical skeleton of the theory, stating the logical principles of deduction in symbolic terms, usually mathematical.

A construct is defined as "an idea that links together observations or other ideas in terms of some common property."[2] The theoretical meaning of a construct is determined by its interrelations with other constructs in the theoretical system; its empirical meaning is determined by its linkage to observable events through rules of correspondence, or through operationalization. Deutsch and Krauss presented an analogy between language and theory in which vocabulary represents the constructs of theory, and grammar represents the logical structure of a theory. They also pointed out that there are no rules for inventing constructs, and that establishing fruitful and objective rules of correspondence is mainly an intuitive, creative affair.

A calculus makes the deductions of the theory explicit, open to public verification and mechanization. The possibility exists that out of a variety of existing calculi a scientist may create a new, more fruitful calculus.

Desirable as abstract calculi are, they are not typically found in social psychology, or in the behavioral sciences in general. In lieu of an abstract calculus, social scientists must use the rules of deduction that are implicit in language. The syntax of language does not provide the formal, logical consistency of a calculus, so that derivations from social-psychological theories are often equivocal, depending on unexpressed assumptions, and imperfect logic. Nevertheless, Deutsch and Krauss defended the use of language in formulating scientific theory on the grounds that it is relevant to observable events in the real world, reasonably logical, and plastic. They concluded that language "permits one, as knowledge grows, to move gradually from implicit to explicit reasoning, from vague to well-defined concepts, while maintaining contact with a constantly enlarging intuitive understanding, which is the soil from which every science grows."[3]

Components of role theory. Like other theories in social psychology, role theory falls short of the scientific ideal. Deutsch and Krauss commenting on role theory wrote, "It consists mainly of a set of constructs, with little in the way of an interrelational calculus or rules of correspondence."[4] That is, in terms of the language analogy, role theory is rich in vocabulary, but it does not have much grammar.

The lack of rules of correspondence in role theory, which Deutsch and Krauss observed, is not very problematic. Operationalization of constructs is appropriately part of the methodology of studies. Thus rules of correspondence are devised as needed in a particular context.

The contribution of stress theory. Role theory's lack of interrelational calculus becomes problematic when one attempts to use role theory as a framework for a study such as the present one. Without the calculus, it is difficult to derive hypotheses from the theory. It is here proposed that we look to stress theory for an interrelational calculus suitable for use in studying the adjustment of migrants to essentially a stress situation. In terms of the language analogy, stress theory will supply the grammar, while role theory will supply the vocabulary.

Though stress theory may thus augment role theory, in no way does it provide an abstract calculus. We must still depend on language in formulating hypotheses. But it is expected that the integration of the two theories will produce a more comprehensive and more explicit theory.

Requirements of theory. Deutsch and Krauss concluded that a theory is useful to the extent that its constructs meet the requirements of (1) logical fertility (permitting logical inferences); (2) multiple connections with other constructs within the theoretical system; and (3) empirical extensibility for at least some of the constructs.

Hall and Lindzey (1970) presented four keys to the acceptance of a theory: utility, incorporation of known empirical findings, simplicity, and ability to provide focus. The first of these, utility, approximately coincides with the requirements laid out by Deutsch and Krauss. Two components of utility, according to Hall and Lindzey, are verifiability and comprehensiveness. A theory has verifiability when it generates predictions which are confirmed by empirical data; it has comprehensiveness when it generates derivations which deal inclusively with the domain embraced by the theory. A theory may have utility through either systematic or heuristic generation of research. The authors argue that a theory has heuristic influence not only if it suggests ideas, but also if it arouses disbelief or resistance. Known empirical findings should be incorporated within the theory in a logically consistent and reasonably simple framework. Greater simplicity (parsimony) would be the deciding factor in accepting one theory ahead of another when two theories generate the same consequeneces. Finally, the provision of focus prevents the observer from being "dazzled by the full-blown complexity of natural or concrete events."[5] It allows him to limit his area of study to manageable proportions.

Though we have reviewed various requirements and keys to acceptance of theory, we will for the moment reserve judgement of role theory supplemented by stress theory.

We turn now to a detailed presentation of role theory, followed by integration of role theory and stress theory, and derivation of hypotheses.

Role Theory

Different forms of role theory

The more one reads about role theory, the more one is aware of the truth of a statement by Heiss (1968): "There is considerable confusion and controversy regarding the nature and boundaries of role theory."[6] In an attempt to classify various works included under the rubric of role theory, Heiss distinguished four forms of role theory: the structural tradition, the social-psychological branch, the psychiatric version, and the psychological varieties.[7] The structural tradition came to the fore with the work of Ralph Linton. The social-psychological branch of role theory is an outgrowth of the work of George Herbert Mead. The psychiatric version of role theory is associated with Harry Stack Sullivan, the psychological variety with Theodore Newcomb.

The emphasis here is on the social-psychological branch of role theory. Material is drawn chiefly from the article, "Role Theory," by Sarbin and Allen, in Lindzey and Aronson's *Handbook of Social Psychology* (1968). Other role theorists briefly considered are Sullivan, Mead, Merton, Goffman, and Lindesmith and Strauss.

An exposition of role enactment

Sarbin and Allen introduced their discussion of role theory with a defense of the use of a metaphor as the basis of theory. They defined the concept of *role* as a metaphor, "borrowed directly from the theater" and "intended to denote that conduct adheres to certain 'parts' (or positions) rather than to the players who read or recite them."[8]

Insisting that study of the isolated individual *per se* has no place in role theory, the authors wrote that the object of study is the role enactment of persons in social settings. Viewing conduct as role enactment places constraints on the methods of observation and analysis, thus focussing observations. Also, antecedent and concurrent conditions of individual variation in role enactment are viewed in a particular light according to role theory. The role theorist asks such questions as: What are the positions of the others with whom the actor is performing? How effective is the actor in validating the occupancy of his status? What is the contribution of others to the enactment--do they provide reinforcements; do they provide discriminative cues which lead the actor to select another role performance? (Questions which have preoccupied other role theorists relate to how the actor has learned the roles he plays. The psychology of George Herbert Mead is primarily involved in attempts to answer these questions.)

Sarbin and Allen pointed out that the observer using role theory, unlike the researcher using stimulus-response theory, cannot hope to emulate the objectivity of the physical sciences. Observation of the performance of an actor involves more than applying a simple correct-incorrect criterion. Instead, the observer must make decisions as to the appropriateness, propriety, and convincingness of the enactment. (It is difficult to distinguish among these three terms as the authors presented them. Appropriateness involves the question of whether or not the actor selects a suitable role, but both propriety and convincingness seem to involve the question of how well the actor performs the selected role. Toward the end of the paper the authors seemed to equate convincingness with the salience of the role for the actor.[9])

Not only must the researcher or observer make subjective decisions about role enactment. Interaction itself has a probabilistic aspect.

The actor must be flexible in interactions, taking into account discriminative and reinforcement cues from the audience, which holds expectations as to the appropriateness, propriety, and convincingness of the enactment. However, the audience assessment of role enactment is based more on probabilistic inference than on deterministic conclusions. There is seldom if ever a perfect fit between role expectations and enactment. Furthermore, role expectations change through historical process.

Sarbin and Allen distinguished three other dimensions along which role enactment may be described: these are (1) number of roles, (2) organismic involvement (effort), and (3) pre-emptiveness (time). They concluded that the more roles in an actor's repertoire, the better prepared he is to perform satisfactorily in new and critical situations. Organismic involvement, traditionally studied by anthropologists, has been differentiated by Sarbin into eight levels: zero or non-involvement, casual role enactment, ritual acting, engrossed acting, classical hypnotic role taking, histrionic neurosis, ecstacy, and object of sorcery and witchcraft. For every role enactment the observer holds expectations as to the appropriate level of involvement. An enactment in which the actor appears too little or too much involved will be negatively evaluated. The dimension of preemptiveness refers to the amount of time a person spends in a particular achieved role in comparison with the time he spends in other achieved roles. (Because of the nature of ascribed roles, such as sex and kinship, the actor constantly enacts them.)

Variables affecting role enactment

After providing an exposition of the dependent variable, role enactment, the authors specified six independent variables which affect role enactment. These variables are role expectations, role location, role demands, role skills, self-role congruence, and audience effects.

Role expectations. Role expectations are comprised of "the rights and privileges, the duties and obligations, of any occupant of a social position in relation to persons occupying other positions in the social structure."[10] They are collections of cognitions that specify meaningful units of behavior (e.g. husband) and provide imperatives for behavior in these roles. Role expectations provide the conceptual bridge between social structure and role behavior. The totality of complementary roles related to a role is called a role set.

There are general expectations of role behavior which are usually superimposed on the specific expectations for a particular role. These general expectations are that a person be what he claims to be, that he be appropriately committed to his role, and that he perform at the proper time and proper place.

Role expectations can vary along several dimensions: generality or specificity, scope, degree of clarity, degree of consensus, and formality or informality.

Measurement of role expectations has been done through self-report, interviews and questionnaires, inferences from overt behavior, sentence-completion, adjective checklists, and essay-writing. The authors pointed out that embarassment resulting from disruption of ongoing behavior (failure to fulfill role expectations) is a most dramatic indicator of role expectations.

The effect of role expectations on role enactment is generally to produce conformity. In fact, an actor who is sensitive to the reactions of others may conform to role expectations of others even though he is not actually very committed to a role. However, many role expectations require mainly that some end be accomplished, and the means toward that end may be quite varied. Thus role theory takes account of spontaneity in role enactment.

Clarity, as a dimension of role expectations, is particulary powerful in its effect on role enactment, and was therefore discussed in considerable detail by Sarbin and Allen. Since it is a topic bearing strongly on the adjustment of migrants, it receives detailed attention here. We begin with a quotation from Sarbin and Allen:

> Complex social interaction is accomplished through the sharing of role expectations by individuals. To the extent that role expectations are unclear and ambiguous, behavior will be less readily predictable, resulting in ineffective and dissatisfying social interaction. In short, if role expectations are unclear the person does not know what role enactments are appropriate and cannot forecast the complementary conduct of other interactants. Clarity of role expectations can be defined as the difference between the optimal amount of information needed about role expectations and the amount actually available to a person. . .First, role expectations held by specific other persons (or by society in general) for a certain position can be uncertain, vague, or indefinite. Second, expectations held by one subgroup of persons may be clear but contradict the clear expectations held by other subgroups. A variant of this condition occurs when one group defines role expectations for a position differently

> from occasion to occasion, or when one set of role expectations is conveyed verbally and a different set behaviorally, as in the "double-bind" situation . . .Third, role expectations held by other persons may be clear, but the role performer himself may distort the expectations received from others, or misunderstand them in some way.[11]

The authors referred to various empirical studies that found that uncertainty and vagueness of expectations had detrimental effects on both task performance and social-emotional conditions. They concluded that lack of clarity in role expectations "does lead to decreased effectiveness and productivity, and that these task effects are mediated through psychological effects on the individual which are discernible in such reactions as personal frustration and strain."[12]

The authors also reported evidence that the second kind of unclarity, resulting from lack of agreement among occupants of complementary roles, or role disensus, is associated with low effectiveness on the job. Agreement about role expectations has been found to be influenced by the following factors: involvement, liking of the position occupant, previous experience with the position, and similarity of background and values. Other factors which have been advanced, on the basis of research, to explain differences in consensus of role expectations are the size of the organization (consensus being greater in small organizations) and the linkage of a given position to other social structures or substructures.

Individual differences in dispositional characteristics and past experience, especially interactional experience, are factors which have been found to affect the third kind of unclarity, which is incongruity between the role performer's own expectations for his role and the expectations held by those comprising his audience. There is evidence that a person's perception of his role expectations is affected by his position in the social hierarchy. A particularly important finding for a study of migrants' adjustment is the following: "The degree of abruptness or continuity in passage from one role to another will affect the clarity of the person's role expectations. Because of experiences with a prior role a person may inaccurately construe the role expectations, if the transition to the new role is not clear and definite."[13]

Role location. Sarbin and Allen stated that in order to survive as a member of a society, an individual must be able to accurately locate himself in the social structure. Locating oneself in the social structure is actually a cognitive process that could be called role perception; however, the authors preferred the spatial metaphor in that it is more continuous with other components of role theory. Since roles are enacted in interactional settings, role location is an interactive process, requiring that one tacitly name the other and decide what one's own role is to be.

Though in role theory we are concerned only with location in the social system, according to Sarbin and Allen there are actually five "distal ecological systems" in which man must efficiently locate himself. These are the self-maintenance system, the space-time system, the social system, the normative system, and the transcendental system. The authors did little more than name the four systems other than the social system.

They explained, however, that locating oneself in any system is an inferential process typically involving the use of a syllogism. With reference to locating oneself in the social system the authors elaborated as follows:

> Major premises in the form of role expectations are acquired through socialization and enculturation experiences. In fact, socialization and enculturation are heavily weighted with the acquisition of major premises that link behaviors, symbols, and artifacts with specific positions. These major premises stand ready to instantiate inputs arising in the context of action. In schematic form, the inferential process could be described in the following series:
>
> 1. Major premise: A proposition that asserts what cues go with what positions. . .
> 2. Minor premise: A proposition that links current inputs with an individual. . .
> 3. Conclusion: A proposition that connects the subject of the minor premise with the predicate of the major premise. . .
> 4. Implication: The observer should adopt the complementary role behavior. . .
>
> The inputs form the minor premise only if there has been a learning experience in which the cues were correlated with the position. In the absence of such prior learning, the actor can easily make a faux pas, be accused of a misdemeanor, or even make a fatal mistake.[14]

Two additional points should be made. One is that locating the roles of the other and of oneself is often instantaneous, certainly not as deliberate as the syllogism above would seem to indicate. The other point is that occasions often arise in which the more obvious cues do not provide sufficient information for correctly locating the position of the other. On these occasions the actor must make inferences about the feelings and expectancies of the other, often by attending to linguistic forms and nonverbal cues.

Although there has been little research on role location in transactional settings, Sarbin and others have proposed the following classification of transactions: (1) nonreciprocal, (2) symmetrically reciprocal, and (3) asymmetrically reciprocal.

Role demands. In a perfect, closed society, role expectations would ensure satisfactory role enactment. However, since social groups are in fact imperfectly organized, there is a need for propriety norms which help to maintain social order. Propriety norms are role demands or coercive constraints which modulate the enactment of a role. Examples of role demands are "the operation of modesty norms, communication norms, control-of-aggression norms, face-saving nroms, norms designed to prevent-embarassment to others, and reciprocity norms."[15] Violation of such norms ordinarily results in the application of aversive reinforcements, that is, negative sanctions.

Role skills. Role skills refer to characteristics such as aptitude, appropriate experience, and specific training, which result in effective and convincing role enactment. Role skills account for some of the variance in role enactment, according to research as well as common experience.

The authors suggested that the learning conditions of early life are important for the acquisition of role skills, since "all roles include some content from early socialization experiences."[16] However, the authors believed that one can improve role skills to some extent, through appropriate training, later in life.

Differential role skill at any point in the sequence of a social act affects the quality of role enactment. As suggested by the syllogism above, the social act consists of the following sequence: role location of the other, attribution of expectations, role location of self and activation of corresponding expectations, and role enactment.

Role skills may be analyzed according to two dimensions: (1) cognitive and motoric, and (2) general and role-specific.

Researchers have paid considerable attention to cognitive skills which facilitate role enactment. A basic skill involves analyzing a social situation and inferring the role of the other. It has not been positively established that general intelligence is related to this general cognitive skill. However, it has been found that individuals differ not only in their ability to detect and discriminate cues in a social situation, but also in their ability to make accurate inferences on the basis of these cues. Studies of empathy (also called role taking, social sensitivity, identification, and social perception) have been quite numerous and have generally found that empathy facilitates role enactment when the actor wishes to be guided by the feelings and imagination of the relevant other.

Motoric skills, which include posture, movements, facial expressions, and vocal responses (tone, for example) are general components of role skills. To date these skills have not received much systematic study. An exception is a study in which Sarbin was involved which employed pantomime improvisations.

It is apparent that skill in role-taking facilitates social interaction. A corollary to that finding points to the importance of socially supported programs of instruction in role-taking skills. This corollary consists of evidence that lack of role-taking skills is associated with delinquency, behavior disorders (including schizophrenia) and other asocial behavior patterns.

According to Sarbin and Allen, the skill variable, important though it seems, is seldom taken into account by theories of social psychology, role theory being an exception.

Self-role congruence. The concept of self is an important one in role theory. Sarbin and Allen defined self as "the experience of identity arising from a person's interbehaving with things, body parts, and other persons."[17] Self is the background against which social roles are perceived and enacted, and it must be considered a factor in assessing the quality of role enactment.

The authors make several important points about self. One is that self evolves from two parallel series of events; the maturational series and the personal-social series. Secondly, inferences about self refer to qualities, while inferences about roles refer to acts. Thirdly, the formation of qualities begins early, even prior to the acquisition of language, though language is an extremely important factor in the development of self.

Like psychoanalytic theory, role theory emphasizes early experiences in the development of self, but its stages of development are different from the Freudian stages. Coordinate with the stages of development are what Sarbin and Allen called "foci of cognitive organization" or "empirical selves."[18] These selves are the somatic self, the primitive construed self, the introjecting-extrojecting self, the socius, and the social self. Though Sarbin and Allen discussed each of these selves, space does not permit summary of their discussion here.

After outlining the development of self, the authors turned to the topic of self-role congruence, a topic with important implications for the adjustment of migrants. Self-role congruence was defined as "the degree of overlap or fittingness that exists between requirements of the role and requirements of the self."[19] Recent research strongly supports the hypothesis that role enactment is more appropriate, proper, and convincing when role and self are congruent than when they are incongruent. This hypothesis is also found in folklore where incongruence is described in such terms as "being a square peg in a round hole." There is evidence that incongruence between self and role, such as when the enactment of a role causes the actor to violate his ethical principles, creates severe tensions and cognitive strain. It is thought that this psychological stress may be the mediating factor that leads to inefficient performance. Depending on the degree of incongruence between self and role, and the duration of the stress, symptoms may range from psychosomatic ailments, lack of concentration, lack of commitment, unconvincing role enactment, and social withdrawal, to complete breakdown of role performance.

The audience. The unit of analysis in role theory suggested by Sarbin and Allen is a triad consisting of (1) the role performer, (2) the person in the complementary role, and (3) an observer or audience.

Audience may be classified as to size, the categories being large, small group, and dyad, and it may also be classified as to whether it is physically or symbolically present. The audience which is symbolically present, or present in the imagination of the actor, is of great importance, since "man's imaginative ability seems to guide much of his social behavior."[20] The imagined audience is particularly important in rehearsing anticipated role behavior and in learning new roles. Various terms have been used to designate the special kind of symbolic audiences used to evaluate and compare role performance; such audiences are generally called reference groups, but at a pervasive and highly personal level Mead's terms, "generalized other" and "significant other" are frequently used. The performer can also be viewed as observing and evaluating his own role behavior. As Mead described this process, the "I" is the observer that evaluates the performance of the "me."

Different types of audiences have differing implications for role enactment, but in general the actor is always alert to the audience, whether it is real or imaginary. Sarbin and Allen reviewed many laboratory experiments on audience effects and offered an analysis of the functions of the audience in role enactment. First, the audience may establish consensual reality for the role by accepting the enactment as appropriate. Second, it provides the actor with cues which he can use to guide his performance. Third, it provides social reinforcement by demonstrating approval and acceptance or disapproval and rejection. Finally, the audience contributes to the maintenance of role behavior over time by continually observing the enactment.

The final function of the audience has several implications for migrants. When a person loses the audience which has sustained his role enactment there is a high probability that there will be changes in his role enactment, and even abandonment of some roles. Related to this point is the authors' observation that it is usually difficult for a person to change his role behavior drastically without changing his geographical environment.

The audience is involved in an aspect of role enactment with important implications for migrants. That aspect is visibility of role enactment. Role enactment that is highly visible to a variety of audiences is more vulnerable to positive and negative evaluation than is less visible role enactment. A person who has less experience, training, or capacity than others in enacting a particular role is more likely to deviate from the ideal performance as prescribed by role expectations. In such cases observability would lead to audience feedback and possibly negative sanctions. Sarbin and Allen wrote, "Too much visibility of enactment might require an unreasonable if not impossible level of rigid performance, which would place the performer under heavy stress."[21] High visibility of role enactment would mean very heavy stress, then, for a migrant, who, because of inexperience in the new society, does not have thorough knowledge of the expectations, demands, and skills attached to various of his roles.

One of the studies referred to in Sarbin and Allen's discussions of reference groups was Eisenstadt's study of absorption of immigrants to Israel. Eisenstadt found that in a sample of migrants to Israel two factors governed the selection of reference groups. These were the aspirations of the individual and the capacity of certain groups to confer prestige.

We have discussed six independent variables, role expectations, location, demands and skills, self-role congruence, and audience, as they relate to the dependent variable, role enactment. We turn now to extensions of the theory which have particular reference to the adjustment of migrants.

Extensions of role theory

This section draws selectively on the Sarbin and Allen article, discussing problems associated with multiple roles, role conflict, role learning, and the effects of role enactment on social identity.

Multiple roles. In reality an actor can always be seen as enacting several roles simultaneously. Frequently he has to choose among alternative roles.

Though, as was noted previously, the ability to enact many roles is advantageous, promoting role-taking skill and integration into the society, most individual's total role obligations are over-demanding. When a person feels that he cannot do justice to all the roles as he has, the result is a cognitive state that has been described as "role strain."

An individual will attempt to allocate his time and resources among his different roles in such a way as to reduce role strain, perhaps by delegating or eliminating some roles. (Overspending one's resources on a particular role is said to produce cognitive strain.) Three factors determine the allocation of the actor's resources among various roles; these are (1) his norm commitment (involving the salience of roles), (2) his estimate of reward or punishment by role partners, and (3) his estimate of reactions by an audience.

Role conflict. When contradictory role enactments are required of him the actor is enmeshed in role conflict. Role conflict may be interrole or intrarole. In the former kind of conflict an actor holds two positions which have incompatible role expectations. In the latter, the conflict occurs in the conflicting expectations held by relevant others (or sometimes by the actor himself) as to the proper performance of one role.

Role conflict and status incongruence typically lead to cognitive strain, that is "a marked increase in cognitive activity that occurs while conduct is delayed pending instantiation or classification of incompatible inputs."[22] During a period of cognitive strain the actor is searching for additional inputs to make an instantiation, and for categories into which to fit the uninstantiated input.

The authors identified five modes of adaptive response by which the actor attempts to resolve cognitive strain. These are (1) instrumental acts and rituals, (2) attention deployment, (3) change in belief system, (4) tranquilizers and releasers, and (5) unsuccessful adaptation. Instrumental acts may be direct attempts to alter the external world, or indirect attempts, which are termed ritualistic. If instrumental acts are successful the conflict is eliminated. Attention deployment may consist of segregating the conflicting roles in time or space so that only one is enacted at a time. Or it may consist of social or geographical flight from the situation. Obviously change in the belief system does not affect the conflicting events, but it may place a different interpretation on them so that they seem compatible. Changes can be directed toward the role expectations, the right of significant others to make demands, the likelihood of sanctions, or the priority of the enactment. As users of tranquilizers well know, tranquilizers and releasers may reduce cognitive strain, but the role-conflict situation remains unchanged. Tranquilizers include chemicals, food, sleep, and intense muscular exercise.

Role learning. In their discussion of role learning, Sarbin and Allen reiterated their opinion that traditional learning theory based on stimulus-response units does not properly apply to analysis of role learning. Research on role learning should recognize that a role must be learned as a Gestalt, that is, as a total, organized, cognitive pattern. Research must also recignize the interactional nature of role learning and the fact that discrimination is a technique to be mastered in role learning.

The authors also argued that research on occupational socialization should be complementary to research on role learning in childhood (general socialization). A general theory of role learning should accommodate both, though there are differences. The authors saw children as more concerned with values and motives and ascribed roles, and adults as more concerned with overt behavior and achieved roles. Other differences are that with adults (1) there is a strong motivation to learn, (2) previously learned roles may facilitate or interfere with learning new roles, and (3) anticipatory socialization may occur prior to occupying a new role. (The authors' contention that children differ from adults in that they have to be taught to want to learn new roles is probably debatable.) The observations on adult role learning are relevant to the migrant's task of learning new roles in the new environment.

The authors found that a dramaturgic model can be used heuristically to discuss role learning. There would be role preparation, involving the interrelated processes of acquisition, training and practice. An experienced coach could assist by detecting mistakes, suggesting a regimen of training, regulating pace, providing social reinforcement and feedback, and by acting as a role model. This discussion suggests the possible value of a coach in facilitating migrant adjustment.

Effects of role enactment on social identity. According to Sarbin and Allen, social identity is the effect of enactment of all one's roles. It consists of knowledge about one's place in the world, but it is narrower than the concept of self: self-hood embodies more residuals of behavior than does social identity. In their exposition of social identity the authors presented a three-dimensional model. The three dimensions are (1) the status dimension, (2) the value dimension, and

(3) the involvement dimension. The status dimension is an ordering of positions, which are defined by role expectations, along a continuum. Statuses may be either achieved or ascribed. The value dimension is orthagonal to the status dimension and has to do with how well the actor enacts a role. Involvement refers to both organismic involvement and to time spent in a specific role enactment.

The authors discussed two points about the effects of role enactment on social identity that are particularly relevant to the adjustment of migrants. One is that changes in an actor's social identity, which are contingent upon changes in role enactment, may consist of (1) changes in knowledge (usually followed by eventual changes in attitude), (2) changes in performance, (3) changes in attention deployment, and (4) changes in somatic processes.

The second point has particular significance for mothers who are not employed outside the home (as is the case of many of the women in this study). The point is that there is little positive valuation placed on performance of ascribed roles (motherhood being an ascribed role), yet strong negative sanctions are applied to non-performance of these roles. Almost the opposite can be said of achieved roles, according to the authors. Thus, a migrant mother may find herself without any means of winning positive valuation in the new community, whereas she may have had some positively valued achieved roles in the society of origin.

Having reviewed Sarbin and Allen's article on role theory, we turn now to complementary material by other authors.

Other contributors to role theory

Sullivan. The following discussion of Harry Stack Sullivan's psychiatric version of role theory is based on a chapter in Hall and Lindzey's Theories of Personality (1970). Like other role theorists, Sullivan emphasized interaction as the basis of socialization and personality formation. In focusing on personality Sullivan made his unique contribution to role theory.

In his discussion of the structure of personality Sullivan wrote that personality is the dynamic center of various processes which occur in a series of interpersonal fields. The principal processes are dynamisms, personifications, and cognitive processes. Dynamisms are defined as "the relatively enduring pattern of energy transformations which recurrently characterize the organism in its duration as a living organism."[23] A personification is an image that an individual has of himself or of another person. Cognitive processes are associated with three modes of experience: prototaxic, the stream of consciousness, parataxic, seeing causal relationships; and syntaxic, consensually validated symbolic activity.

Sullivan saw the self as a dynamism that develops as a result of anxiety. It consists of security measures that minimize anxiety, protect and supervise. It becomes isolated from the rest of the personality, preventing a person from making objective judgements of his own behavior. In general, the more experiences with anxiety, the more inflated the self-system, and the more dissociated from the rest of the personality. An inflated self-system interferes with the ability to live constructively with others. It is the product of irrational aspects of society. It is "the principal stumbling block to favorable changes in personality."[24] Given the fact that migration is usually fraught with anxiety, Sullivan's views on anxiety have obvious implications for migrants.

In describing the dynamics of personality Sullivan wrote that the chief work of the personality, an energy system, is tension reduction. Tension arises from physiochemical needs and anxiety. Failure to satisfy physiochemical needs results typically in a feeling of apathy. Sullivan defined anxiety as the experience of tension that results from real or imaginary threats to one's security, and found that in large amounts anxiety reduces efficiency in satisfying needs, disturbs interpersonal relations and produces confusion in thinking. Again the relevance for migrants is obvious.

Sullivan felt that one of the great tasks of psychology is to discover the basic vulnerabilities to anxiety in interpersonal relations, rather than to try to deal with the symptoms resulting from anxiety. If we accept this view, we realize the importance of examining interpersonal factors affecting the adjustment of migrants.

Another statement by Sullivan which has particular import for migrants is the following: "What anyone can discover by investigating his past is that patterns of tensions and energy transformations which make up his living are to a truly astonishing extent matters of his education for living in a particular society."[25] Thus, a migrant, socialized for living in a particular society, will probably have patterns of tensions and energy transformations which are not quite compatible with the new society. In fact, this is precisely the thesis of Lubart's study of psychodynamic problems of adaptation among the Inuit (whom Lubart called Eskimo).

Like Sarbin and Allen, Sullivan argued that personality is not set at an early age. Personality may change at any time as new interpersonal situations arise. The human organism is extremely plastic, and though regressions can occur, the thrust is usually forward. Thus, successful adjustment by many migrants is predictable.

Much of Sullivan's work involved descriptions of stages of development in children. In common with other role theorists, Sullivan emphasized symbolic activity and dramatization in development.

In summary, Sullivan's psychiatric version of role theory is complementary to role theory as presented by Sarbin and Allen in that it contributes concepts dealing with motivation, and defense mechanisms found in the self.

Mead, Merton, and Goffman. After a brief general discussion of role theory, which differs from Sarbin and Allen's discussion in being less comprehensive and relatively unsupported by research findings, Deutsch and Krauss (1965) discussed the contributions of three leaders in the field. These leaders are George Herbert Mead, Robert Merton, and Erving Goffman.

Following their review of Mead's ideas on the concepts of self and generalized other, and on the importance of symbols, Deutsch and

Krauss commented that Mead's concepts lack specificity and empirical referent. They concluded, however, that the abstract frame of reference that Mead offered could "force questions and suggest lines of investigation that no other competing point of view forces or suggests."[26]

One of Merton's major contributions was the clarification and systematization of reference group theory. Among other things Merton distinguished between reference individuals and role models, positive and negative reference groups, and membership and nonmembership groups. Altogether Merton listed twenty-six properties of groups, but as Deutsch and Krauss point out, there are problems in finding valid and reliable standardized measures of these properties.

Of particular relevance to the adjustment of migrants is Merton's discussion of anomie. Merton saw deviance and anomie as emerging from the structure of the society, not from personal idiosyncracy or psychopathology. Society sets culturally defined goals and defines institutionalized means of attaining the goals (learning and opportunity structures). When both processes are not well integrated, anomie, or normlessness, results. Merton's typology of modes of adaptation is summarized in the table below, taken from Deutsch and Krauss.[27] The symbol "+" stands for acceptance; the symbol "-" for rejection; and the symbol "±" signifies a rejection of prevailing values and a substitution of new ones. (Merton's concept of ritualism is different in meaning from Sarbin and Allen's concept of ritualistic acts, which are indirect attempts to adapt to cognitive strain, implying acceptance of a culturally defined goal.)

Mode of Adaptation	Cultural Goals	Institutionalized Means
(1) Conformity	+	+
(2) Innovation	+	-
(3) Ritualism	-	+
(4) Retreatism	-	-
(5) Rebellion	±	±

In their concluding comments on Merton's reference groups theory, Deutsch and Krauss said that it is not really theory in that it has no central notion, does not postulate any fundamentally new social processes, and provides little predictive power.

Erving Goffman, in his major work, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, developed the concepts of performance and front. These concepts have obvious implications for role theory, but Deutsch and Krauss found Goffman's theory lacking in rigor. The many illustrations he provided were found to be useful in communicating the theory, but providing very little in the way of confirmation.

Lindesmith and Strauss. In their discussion of roles, role behavior, interaction, and self, Lindesmith and Strauss (1968) presented much the same view of role theory as did Sarbin and Allen. Their distinctive contribution is an elaboration of coping mechanisms, which can be compared with Sullivan's view of the protective functions of the self.

Lindesmith and Strauss argued that learning to protect oneself against severe anxiety is an essential part of one's educational experience. Though they warned against uncritical inclusion of pathological defense mechanisms into role theory, they discussed the traditional defense mechanisms of substitution (compensation), rationalization, scapegoating, projection, and identification with the aggressor. Less traditional coping mechanisms which they also discussed are selective inattention (which might be construed as insulation), and avoidance. A presentation of "normal coping devices" constitutes the most original part of the discussion. These devices include learning more about the problem, associating with others who have the same problem, disinterestedness, a sense of humor in the face of trouble, and occasional, restorative withdrawal from interaction. It would seem that migrants would have a particular need for these normal coping devices.

Lindesmith and Strauss pointed out that adults become increasingly "anchored" in the groups and broader social structure in which they participate. Hence, the older migrant could be expected to have greater difficulty in lifting the anchor and dropping it in a new environment. This expectation is consistent with the literature on adjustment of migrants.

Stress Theory

Considerations from stress theory

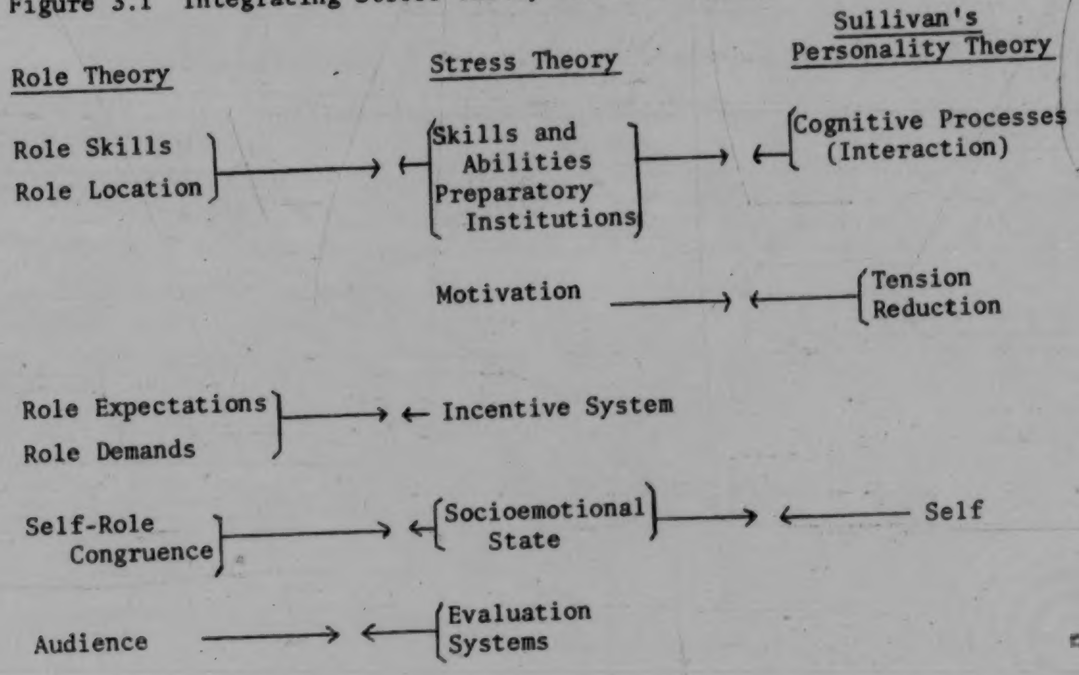
Even to a casual observer, the adjustment tasks of migrants appear somewhat stressful. For that reason alone it is appropriate to investigate what stress theory can contribute to the study of the adjustment of migrants. Another reason for turning to stress theory is that role theory, while rich in constructs, lacks explicit statements of interrelationships among these constructs, and to some extent role theory can supply interrelationships.

In his article, "Some Problems in Developing a Social Psychology of Adaptation to Stress" (1970), David Mechanic argued that stress theory assists the researcher to study certain more complex situations than are usually encompassed in experiments or field studies. Stress theory helps the investigator to "ask more meaningful questions and to consider variables he might not have looked at had he used a more limited and conventional perspective."[28] However, according to Mechanic, the subfields of social psychology have the advantage of "more limited but tighter conceptual ideas."[29] For the purposes of the present study the tighter conceptual ideas of role theory must be retained, but stress theory may be used heuristically to analyze the adjustment task of migrants.

Mechanic suggests three central considerations in analyzing how an individual deals with a stress situation: (1) the instrumental one--his skills and abilities; (2) his motivation; and (3) his socioemotional state. The societal complements of these considerations are (1) preparatory institutions, (2) incentive systems, and (3) evaluation systems.

Integrating the two theories. The diagram below illustrates how Mechanic's considerations for analyzing how an individual deals with a stress situation can be integrated with role theory. The adjustment task of migrants may be considered a case of dealing with a stress situation. The concepts of role theory included in the diagram are drawn mainly from the Sarbin and Allen article, but are complemented by a few of Sullivan's concepts.

Figure 3.1 Integrating Stress Theory and Role Theory


Role Theory
Stress Theory
Sullivan's Personality Theory
Role Skills
Role Location
Skills and Abilities
Preparatory Institutions
Cognitive Processes (Interaction)
Motivation
Tension Reduction
Role Expectations
Role Demands
Incentive System
Self-Role Congruence
Socioemotional State
Self
Audience
Evaluation Systems

Conceptual Definitions

By applying the constructs of role theory and stress theory to standard definitions one can appropriately define key terms.

Migrant. A migrant is a person who changes his place of residence and community membership, concomitantly changing his enactment of existing roles, abandoning some roles and acquiring new roles.

Environment. The term environment as used here includes both the physical and social structures of the new community, but the focus is on the latter. Eisenstadt wrote that the migrant's transition involves "abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one."[30]

Similarly, in this study a person is not considered a migrant if he moves to a new community which is similar to his original community, where he enacts essentially the same roles as in the original community. In terms of role theory, the new environment involves the acquisition of new and different role expectations, role locations, role demands, and audiences.

Adjustment. Defining adjustment is usually considered problematic, but definition is here achieved by incorporating the constructs of role theory into stress theory. Mechanic defined stress as "a discrepancy between a problem or challenge and the individual's capacity to deal with or to accommodate to it."[31] Rewording this definition in terms of role theory produces the following definition of adjustment: an actor's dealing with or accommodating to a discrepancy between his knowledge of, or ability in, role expectations, role location, role demands, and role skills, and the knowledge or ability required for optimum role enactment; and/or the actor's dealing with a discrepancy between self and role.

Hypotheses Concerning Adjustment of Mirgrants

A model organization of observations

An ideal situation, from the point of view of methodology, would be to have rules of correspondence linking the constructs of role theory to concrete data, and an abstract interrelational calculus relating the constructs to each other. In the absence of an interrelational calculus in role theory, however, we are using the considerations of stress theory to organize observations and to generate hypotheses. Though the constructs of role theory are used in making observations, there is by no means a complete set of explicit rules of correspondence between the constructs and the concrete data. Nevertheless, it is possible to build some bridges between the conceptual and the concrete, and further to systematically organize the resulting observations according to the considerations of stress theory. The product of such operations is the following systematic outline for analyzing the concrete data on the adjustment of migrant wives to their new environment.

Skills and Abilities

- Multiplicity of roles in the original community centred around
  - Family
  - Occupation
  - Organizational memberships
  - Leisure activities (including travel)
  - Education
- Multiplicity of roles in the new community centred around
  - Family
  - Occupation
  - Organizational memberships
  - Leisure activities

Preparatory Institutions

- Schools and other training institutions
- Orientation program[32]
- Interaction with Supervisor-Counsellors[33]
- Community sources of information

Motivation

- Strength of respondent's motivation to migrate
- Feelings about roles in the original community (push factors)
- Effectiveness of tension reduction--roles providing satisfaction of physiochemical needs in the new community

Incentive System

- Role expectations and demands providing incentives for:
  - Wanting husband to remain in trainee's role
  - Fulfilling own roles as wife, mother, employee, member of community organizations, and participant in leisure activities.

Socioemotional State

Feeling of integration into the new community (organismic involvement in new roles) so that loneliness, boredom, and low self-esteem are not serious problems

Self-role congruence--feelings about roles in the new community in comparison to feelings about roles in the community of origin

Coping devices used--learning more about problems, associating with others with the same problems, withdrawal, etc.

Evaluation System

Audience effects--perception of acceptance or rejection by the new community, validation of roles.

Propositions

Using the concept of role theory and the broad considerations of stress theory, one may make several predictions as to what factors will contribute to success or lack of success in adjusting to a new environment. The following seven propositions parallel the above outline of considerations for analyzing adjustment.

Skills and Abilities

(1) A migrant who enacted a greater number of roles in the original community will show greater facility in acquiring knowledge of role expectations, locations, demands and skills, and in enacting new or changed roles in the new community than will the migrant who enacted comparatively few roles in the original community. (Sarbin and Allen in fact assume this to be true.)

Preparatory Institutions

(2) A migrant who has received more preparatory training for roles or for changes in existing roles, including education, attendance at an orientation program, and guidance from a Supervisor-Counsellor, will acquire and enact new or changed roles more

easily than will the migrant who has received less preparation.

Motivation

(3) A migrant who was more highly motivated to migrate will be more successful in acquiring and enacting new or changed roles than will the migrant who was less motivated.

(4) Failure to satisfy physiochemical needs would result in apathetic role enactment in the new community (according to Sullivan).

Incentive System

(5) A migrant whose perception of role expectations provides her with incentives to enact new or changed roles will show greater facility in acquiring and enacting such roles than will the migrant who does not perceive such incentives.

Socioemotional State

(6) A migrant whose socioemotional state is such that loneliness, boredom, and low self-esteem are not problems, will show greater facility in acquiring and enacting new or changed roles than will the migrant who is troubled by these feelings. (Lack of organismic involvement in roles may be tied to feelings of loneliness, boredom, and low self-esteem.)

Evaluation System

(7) A migrant who perceives validation and approval of her roles and role enactment (positive audience effects) will show greater facility in acquiring and enacting new or changed roles than will the migrant who perceives negative audience response.

Variables and hypotheses

Seven specific hypotheses are drawn from the general propositions listed above.

The dependent variables. Generally speaking, the dependent variable in all seven hypotheses is role enactment in the new community. For analytical purposes two aspects of this role enactment are distinguished and treated as separate variables. These are Multiplicity of Roles and Satisfaction with Roles. A third aspect of role enactment, namely, Competence of Role Enactment was originally envisioned as a dependent variable. However, a lack of sufficient variance in the data on competence of role enactment caused the variable to be deleted from the study.

The independent variables. Seven independent variables are drawn from the considerations of stress theory. (Two variables concern motivation.) These variables may be grouped under the rubric of propensity to adjust. The seven independent variables are the following:

(1) Multiplicity of Roles in the Original Community
(2) Preparation for Roles in the New Community
(3) Motivation to Migrate
(4) Perceived Satisfaction of Physiochemical Needs
(5) Perception of Incentives in Roles
(6) Socioemotional Problems
(7) Perceived Audience Response to Role Enactment

Hypothesis one. Multiplicity of roles in the original community is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community.

Hypothesis two. Preparatory training for roles in the new community is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community.

Hypothesis three. Motivation to migrate is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community.

Hypothesis four. Perceived failure to satisfy physiochemical needs is negatively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community.

Hypothesis five. Perception of incentives in role expectations is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community.

Hypothesis six. Lack of socioemotional problems is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community.

Hypothesis seven. Perception of positive audience response to role enactment is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Background of the Study

In 1972 Dosman denied the possibility of using questionnaires or interviews to study the adaptation of Canadian natives to urban environments. He wrote, "(A)fter a century of ruthless analysis. . . (n)ative people are about as willing to confide in an interviewer as the average Catholic is to divulge the secrets of the Confessional."[1] Compared with the situation Dosman described, the circumstances under which the data for the present study were collected were mainly propitious. The data were collected primarily through in-depth interviews with wives of Northern trainees. The circumstances were the following.

The interviews were authorized by the management of the husband's training program, and so gained legitimacy as "part of the job."

The purpose of the interviews from the point of view of the management was to find means of assisting the wives of trainees to adjust to life in Southern Canada. To that end a report, with recommendations, was prepared. Thus there was the possibility of beneficial consequences for the respondents accruing from the interviews. (In fact, several of the recommendations of the report were implemented.)

The study was complementary to a prior, more extensive study, by

Dr. Charles Hobart, of the training program. Hobart's study had involved interviews with the trainees and others, but not interviews with the trainees' wives. The present study, which was suggested by Dr. Hobart, thus had an on-going nature, with several attendant advantages. First, decisions on research design and data-gathering techniques, and the implementation of these decisions, were facilitated by Hobart's experience with the prior study. In addition, data collected in the previous study provided valuable background information on the trainees and their work situation. Finally, the trainees' wives, most of whom were aware of the fact that their husbands had been interviewed in the previous study, saw the interview as a familiar, hence, non-threatening event. Some welcomed being thus included in the husband's employment situation.

The fact that the data were collected under the auspices of the training program was not, though, without some disadvantages. Three Supervisor-Counsellors were the key figures in both facilitating and limiting the data collection process. The Supervisor-Counsellors were lower level management personnel whose work was partly to assist the trainees and their families to adjust to the new work situation and the new community. In general the Supervisor-Counsellors, who were native people themselves, were motivated to protect the trainees' wives from that kind of probing that Dosman believed had caused natives to be "unanimous in their rejection of surveys."[2] Accordingly, the Supervisor-Counsellors imposed several constraints on the techniques of data collection, discussed below.

Data Collection

Subjects. The subjects of the study were twenty-four wives of northern trainees who were involved in an industrial training program in Southern Canada. The twenty-four women comprised the total population of wives in the training program. Since the trainees were mainly migrant natives, it had been assumed that their wives would also be migrant natives. However, in the course of interviewing it was found that eleven of the women were either not native or not migrant.

Time. The data were collected during December, 1974 and January, 1975, supplemented with data from a limited follow-up study done in August, 1976.

Place. The subjects were interviewed in their homes in various towns and cities in Alberta and Saskatchewan, the territory covered being approximately a triangle bounded by Swan Hills and Medicine Hat in Alberta, and Burstall in Saskatchewan.

Techniques. The management of the training program authorized in-depth interviews of the trainees' wives, with the stipulation that the interviewer be a native woman.[3] The management believed that the interviewees would feel more comfortable with a native person than with a white person. The idea may have been well-founded; certainly the interviewing proceeded smoothly, the interviewer being able to quickly establish rapport with the subjects. (The fact that two of the respondents later visited the interviewer in her home in Edmonton indicates the friendship that was generated.) Among the interviewer's assets were fluency in an Indian language (though the interviews were in English) and good prior interviewing experience.

The Supervisor-Counsellors facilitated the interviewing in several important ways. Each one agreed to have the interviewer travel with him while he made his rounds to the various training sites. Each Supervisor-Counsellor prepared a schedule and itinerary for the travel, informed the wives of the impending study, and, in most cases, made appointments for the interviews. Upon arriving at the home of a respondent, usually in a trailer court, the Supervisor-Counsellor introduced the interviwer and the interviewee.

Two other data collection techniques directly involved the Supervisor-Counsellors. In informal interviews conducted by the interviewer, the Supervisor-Counsellors gave their impressions of the subjects' success or lack of success in adjusting to the new environment. Thus, the Supervisor-Counsellors were functioning as community reporters. Eighteen months after the interviews, the Supervisor-Counsellors provided follow-up data on the respondents. They provided objective information on whether or not the subject and her husband were maintaining their marriage, whether or not the husband was continuing or had completed the training program, and whether or not the subject had returned to her original Northern community.

Instruments. A mainly open-ended questionnaire was used to structure the interviews (Appendix I). There were ninety-nine numbered items on the questionnaire, but including subsections, a total of one hundred seventy questions were available for the interviews. The questionnaire produced information on the subject's background, her roles in the original and new communities, and her satisfactions and/or frustrations in the new environment.

A "Post-Interview Impressions Sheet" (Appendix II) was completed by the interviewer to supply auxiliary information. It provided ratings of the interviewee's competence in the roles of housekeeper and mother.

The eighteen-month follow-up study was conducted by having the Supervisor-Counsellors complete a tabular-style information sheet (Appendix III).

Limitations on the data collection. An important limitation on the data collection process was the fact that I was restricted from interviewing the respondents myself. As it happened, I was able, with the approval of the Supervisor-Counsellor involved, to conduct two of the interviews. My experience in these situations accords with Wallin's statement that "expressive signs are often far more revealing than the content of the verbal statement."[4] I also visited two of the respondents in their homes, but I was not present during their interviews. In these visits I gained only superficial impressions of the respondents: shy and smiling young women in well-kept trailers. If I had interviewed the subjects myself I might have made finer distinctions between levels of competence in role enactment than the interviewer did, and might therfore have been able to use the competence of role enactment variable. Also, had I interviewed the respondents, I might have been able to probe for additional information suited to the purposes of the study as I saw them. For example, in a few cases, as a response to the question, "When were you married," the interviewer recorded only "Not married." Whether or not the respondent and her husband had participated in a marriage ceremony was of little interest in the study; the information required was how long had the respondent been enacting the role of housewife. However, in most cases the desired information could be inferred from answers to other questions.

I am aware, of course, that had I done the interviewing I might not have been able to establish rapport with the respondents as successfully as the interviewer did. The loss would then have been greater than any possible gain.

Various techniques were used to retrieve information not recorded on the questionnaires. It was possible to share many of the interviewer's impressions of the respondents, partly through the "Post-Interview Impressions Sheet," but more through lengthy conversations I had with the interviewer while I was travelling with her and when I visited in her home. Long distance telephone calls were also made when the interviewer was working at distant work sites in order to record her impressions and reactions after an interview, while they were fresh in her mind.

A second limitation of the data collection process may be that since the interviews were closely related to the husband's employment, the wives may have felt a demand to provide responses that would satisfy "the company." Of course the wives were assured of the anonymity of their responses, but they knew that the interviewer was travelling with a Supervisor-Counsellor, and may therefore have been constrained in their responses.

Operationalizing the Variables

Review of literature on measuring adjustment

Before discussing the operationalization of the concept of adjustment as it is used here, it is appropriate to review some literature on measuring adjustment. The following review of three articles will illustrate the unavoidably subjective nature of attempts to measure socio-psychological adjustment.

Veroff et al. (1968). Veroff and his colleagues used sophisticated factor analysis techniques to look at clusters of responses, but the responses were simple subjective self-reports of adjustment. Asking questions such as, "What kinds of things do you worry about most," researchers collected data on the following variables from 2460 adult subjects: worrying, unhappiness, future unhappiness, nervous breakdown, lack of uniqueness of self, lack of self-acceptance, shortcomings, lack of strong points, marital inadequacy, marital unhappiness, marriage problems, negative orientation to children, problems with children, inadequacy as a parent, psychological anxiety, physical ill health, immobilization, psychological anxiety, job dissatisfaction, and job inadequacy. The authors' major conclusion was that there is a need for a multiple criterion approach to subjective adjustment.

Tindall (1968). Similarly Ralph Tindall concluded that evaluation of adjustment should be based on several indices. In his study of the adjustment of sixty-six adolescent boys in an orphans' home, Tindall collected data on the following "facets of adjustment generally considered desirable:"[5] maintaining an integrated personality, conforming to social demands, adapting to reality conditions, maintaining consistency, maturing with age, maintaining an optimal emotional tone, and contributing optimally to society through an increasing efficiency. To collect the data Tindall used the following measurement techniques: (1) questionnaires and inventories; (2) ratings by adult judges; (3) ratings by peers using sociometric techniques; (4) adjustment indices secured by means of projective techniques; and (5) systematized direct observation. Tindall found that the different techniques did not produce closely related results. He urged that there be clearer definitions of adjustment and refinement of existing measurement techniques rather than addition of new techniques. For best use of existing techniques he suggested the use of many rather than a few indices of adjustment. The subject's feelings about his own adjustment, and peer acceptance were mentioned as particulary useful indices.

Evenson et al. (1974). A statewide computerized information system for collecting data on community adjustment of former mental patients was described in an article by Evenson and his colleagues. Again the data collection depended upon subjective assessments of adjustment, this time by a "community correspondent," usually a relative living with the former mental patient. The areas of adjustment considered were the following: (1) hostility; (2) alcohol abuse; (3) depression; (4) work problems; (5) assaultiveness; (6) peculiar behavior (laughing or crying at strange times); (7) confusion; (8) family duties (not helping with household chores); (9) anxiety (being nervous and jittery); and (10) social withdrawal. The community correspondent supplied information in response to a sixty-item questionnaire.

Comments on the literature. The review of the three articles indicated the gulf that exists between current approaches to measuring adjustment and objective science. There was very little complementarity among the three articles on adjustment, though this fact results partly from the differences in the three groups of subjects. Furthermore, every assessment of adjustment depended upon an intuitive judgement by someone.

On the positive side, the three articles lend support to the data collection methods of the present study. The use of structured interviews supplemented by reports from two community reporters (the interviewer and the Suervisor-Counsellors) would seem to correspond with Tindall's recommended use of indices based on self-report and peer acceptance. The use of community reporters also receives support from the Evenson article. The multiple criterion approach to measuring adjustment, which was recommended by the Veroff article, is used, though only in a limited way, in the present study. This fact will emerge in the discussion of the operationalization of the dependent variable.

Operationalizing adjustment in terms of role theory

Adjustment, it will be recalled is conceptually defined in this study as *an actor's dealing with or accommodating to a discrepancy between his knowledge of, or ability in, role expectations, role location, role demands, and role skills, and the knowledge or ability required for optimum role enactment; and/or the actor's dealing with a discrepancy between self and role*. This study focuses only on part of the definition, setting aside the question of discrepancy between self and role. Also, there is no attempt to delve into the psychological mechanisms involved in the processes of "dealing with" or "accommodating to." Instead the study attempts to measure to what extent the migrants have been successful in these processes with respect to particular roles.

More specifically, the operationalization of adjustment consists of assessing role enactment. Sarbin and Allen wrote that role enactment may be generally evaluated according to the criteria of appropriateness, propriety and convincingness, and may be analyzed as to the multiplicity of roles, organismic effort, and preemptiveness. In addition, role enactment may be viewed in relation to role expectations, location, demands, and skills; self-role congruence, and audience effects.

Some of Sarbin and Allen's concepts are used in assessing role enactment in this study. It will be recalled that role enactment was analytically separated into two dependent variables for purposes of this study. The dependent variable Multiplicity of Roles is indexed by focusing on five possible roles, which are weighted according to preemptiveness, that is, time spent in the role. The dependent variable Satisfaction with Roles is operationalized partly according to organismic involvement in the same five possible roles, and partly according to the subject's own assessment of satisfaction. A third dependent variable, Competence of Role Enactment, was assessed by the interviewer and Supervisor-Counsellors, and involved consideration of role expectations, demands, and skills with respect to three roles: housewife, mother, and citizen. But, as was mentioned previously, there was insufficient variance in this variable to warrant giving it much attention here.

Operationalizing the variables in terms of the data

Appendix IV provides the details of the index construction. However, a few additional explanations may be useful.

Indexing the dependent variables. The five roles involved in the indices of Multiplicity of Roles and Satisfaction with Roles are (1) housewife, (2) mother, (3) employee, (4) member of organizations, and (5) participant in leisure activities. Activities which could be classified in either the fourth or fifth category are placed in the former. A necessary characteristic of an organization is deemed to be that it have a membership list. A satisfaction score consisting of a ratio of total satisfaction over possible satisfaction is calculated. Thus, if a respondent wanted only the roles of housewife, mother and participant in leisure activities, her satisfaction score is calculated only on the basis of those roles. If, however, the respondent wanted but did not have the role of employee, the employee role is included in the base for the satisfaction ratio.

An important understanding in interpreting the satisfaction score is that less than complete satisfaction with a role does not mean that the respondent dislikes the role. A partial satisfaction score could be recorded, for example, when a mother expresses frustrations in trying to fulfill the role of mother, as in the statement, "There is no where to take him (the child) around here."

Validation of the indices Multiplicity of Roles and Satisfaction with Roles. Given the importance of the dependent variables, Multiplicity of Roles and Satisfaction with Roles, it was considered appropriate to attempt some validation of their indices. It was expected that since these two variables are aspects of role enactment, they would be associated. In fact, a strong association was found between the indices, the gamma measure of association being +.76. See Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Association between Multiplicity of Roles and Satisfaction with Roles

Multiplicity of Roles	Satisfaction with Roles			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
Low	3	1	0	4
Medium	3	8	3	14
High	1	0	5	6
Total	7	9	8	24
$\gamma = +.76$				

Indexing the independent variables. Indices of the independent variables are constructed from the interview data, as detailed in Appendix D, with one exception. Data on only one dimension of the variable, Perception of Incentive in Roles, were collected; therefore it is not possible to construct an index for this variable. Another difficulty is that the data produced little variance in Perceived Satisfaction of Physiochemical

Needs. Two variables, Social Preparation for Roles in the New Community and Motivation to Migrate, were for obvious reasons indexed using data on migrants only.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

Combining statistical and case study approaches

The advantages of combining statistical and case study approaches to data analysis have often been suggested, for example by Wallin (1941); Stouffer (1941); and Foreman (1971). The nature of the present study, being both theoretical and exploratory, warrants such a combined approach.

Since this study is based on theoretically-derived hypotheses, the use of statistical methods for hypothesis testing is desirable. The small size of the study population severely restricts, but does not eliminate, the use of statistical methods in this study.

Since the study is exploratory, examining the utility of a theoretical framework for the first time, a flexible approach to data analysis is desirable. The case study approach offers that flexibility. Besides being useful in the "flow of analysis,"[1] the case study approach aids in interpretation of findings, consideration of unique or deviant cases, and prediction of adjustment. All of these uses of the case study approach have precedents in the literature.[2] Furthermore, the data of the present study, from in-depth interviews and community reporters, are suited to the case study approach. For these reasons, the case study approach is used to supplement statistical methods in the following data analysis.

Dichotomizing the study population

When interviewing commenced, it was assumed that the respondents would all, or nearly all, be Northern native migrants. It turned out, however, that only thirteen of the twenty-four women fitted that description. The remaining eleven women were not native and/or not from "the North." Though all but one of the twenty-four women were new to the particular community in which they were living at the time of the interviews, only the thirteen Northerners were migrants according to our definition, that is, in having fulfilled Eisenstadt's criterion of abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one. Obviously, for purposes of data analysis, the study population had to be dichotomized on the basis of the subject's familiarity with Southern Canadian society, that is, on whether or not the subject found the new community (in Southern Canada) greatly different from her community of origin.

The possibility of comparing the adjustment to the new community of the two groups, hereinafter called "Northerners" and "Southerners," might be described as serendipitous. The insights gained from the comparison more than compensate for the attendant disadvantage of having only thirteen subjects available for testing most of the original hypotheses.

The selectivity involved in the fact that all the subjects were wives of trainees in a particular industry produced considerable homogeneity among the subjects. In effect, several important variables were reasonably well controlled. Besides the obvious one, sex, other controlled variables are marital status, income, housing (trailers), and husband's occupational status. In addition, age, education, and stage in the family cycle are partially controlled. The average age of the respondents at the time of the interview was twenty-three; all but one thirty-four-year-old were in their late teens or their twenties. The average educational attainment of the respondents was grade 10.75, the range being from grade eight to grade twelve, except for one university-educated person. All the women were in the early stages of the family cycle: nineteen of the women were mothers of young children, the eldest of whom was only eight years old.

Whether to classify all non-Northerners as Southerners was a problematic question. All the non-Northerners had experience in Southern Canada prior to their location at the site where they were interviewed. But not all of them belonged to the dominant Canadian racial group: eight were white; two were native, and one was a mulatto, originally from South America. Since the three non-whites all had life-time experience in the dominant white Canadian society, including experience in integrated schools, (teaching in Alberta schools in the case of the South American), they were considered acculturated. They were therefore classified as Southerners.

Association between the dependent variables and origin of subjects

Preliminary to any investigation of factors related to adjustment, it is necessary to ascertain whether the Northerners and Southerners differ in their adjustment to their new communities. It will be recalled that adjustment in this study is operationalized by the construction of two indices pertaining to role enactment in the new community: Multiplicity of Roles, and Satisfaction with Roles. (A third variable, Competence of Role Enactment, while not used in the statistical analysis is considered briefly in the case studies.) Comparison of the Northerners and Southerners on the two main dependent variables produced the cross-tabulations shown in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2.

Table 5.1 Multiplicity of Roles and Origin

Multiplicity of Roles	Origin	
	Northern	Southern
Low	23%	9%
Medium	62	55
High	15	36
Total percent	100	100
Number	13	11
	$\tau = .03$	

The percentage in each table are far more revealing than a summary statistic; however, an appropriate measure of association between attributes, Goodman and Kruskal's tau, was calculated, and is provided for each table.

Table 5.2 Satisfaction with Roles and Origin

Satisfaction with Roles	Origin	
	Northerners	Southerners
Low	54%	0%
Medium	31	45
High	15	55
Total percent	100	100
Number	13	11
	τ = .17	

Table 5.1 indicates that Northerners were groups slightly lower on the Multiplicity of Roles index than were Southerners. On the Satisfaction with Roles index, however, Northerners were much lower, the majority of them expressing low satisfaction with roles compared with the majority of Southerners, who expressed high satisfaction.

Controlling for age and time in the community

In the literature on adjustment of migrants, there is general recognition that adjustment is related to age and time in the community. In fact, the subjects in the present study were comparatively homogeneous on both these factors. None of the subjects was old enough that age would ordinarily be considered an impediment to adjustment, and none of the subjects, with the exception of one life-time resident, had been in the new community for more than four years. Notwithstanding this homogeneity, there was the possibility that age and time in the community were actually intervening variables in the relationships between the dependent variables and the origin of the subjects. Therefore the relationships were examined with the appropriate controls. Again the tau measure of association is provided, though the smallness of the numbers severely limits the usefulness of any summary statistic.

The relationship between Multiplicity of Roles and Origin, controlled for Age, is presented in Table 5.3 and the relationship controlled for Time in the Community is presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.3 Multiplicity of Roles and Origin. Relationship Controlled on Age

Multiplicity of Roles	Age			
	18-22 Years		23-34 Years	
	Northern	Southern	Northern	Southern
Low	38%	0%	0%	13%
Medium	63	67	60	50
High	0	33	40	38
Total percent	101	100	100	101
Number	8	3	5	8
	τ = .10		τ = .01	

Table 5.3 indicates that the association between Northern origin and low placement on the Multiplicity of Roles index is stronger among

the younger age groups than among the older. A partial explanation of this fact is that most cases of low placement on the Multiplicity of Roles index resulted from a combination of childlessness and unemployment, a combination that was more frequent among Northerners than Southerners. (It is worth noting that the only Southerner in this condition was a native.) Of course, among older subjects, both Northern and Southern, the incidence of childlessness was lower.

Table 5.4 Multiplicity of Roles and Origin. Relationship Controlled on Time in the Community

Multiplicity of Roles	Time in the Community			
	Less than One Year		More than One Year	
	Northern	Southern	Northern	Southern
Low	29%	20%	17%	0%
Medium	71	80	50	33
High	0	0	33	67
Total percent	100	100	100	100
Number	7	5	6	6
	τ = .00		τ = .07	

As newcomers to the community Northerners and Southerners were alike in that they all placed either "low" or "medium" on the Multiplicity of Roles index. Among the longer term residents, however, the percentage of Southerners who had achieved high multiplicity of roles was more than twice as great as the percentage of Northerners who had done so. Involvement in the community, through organizational membership and participation in leisure activities, was necessary for high placement on the *Multiplicity of Roles* index. It follows, then, that among subjects residing in the community for more than a year, Northerners tended to be less involved in the community than were Southerners.

Examination of the cells of Table 5.3 and Table 5.4 suggests that *Age* and *Time in the Community* are not intervening variables in the relationship between *Multiplicity of Roles and Origin*.

Table 5.5 presents the relationship between *Satisfaction with Roles* and *Origin* controlled for *Age* and Table 5.6 presents the relationship controlled for *Time in the Community*.

Table 5.5 Satisfaction with Roles and Origin. Relationship Controlled on Age

Satisfaction with Roles	Age			
	18-22 Years		23-34 Years	
	Northern	Southern	Northern	Southern
Low	63%	0%	40%	0%
Medium	25	67	40	38
High	13	33	20	63
Total percent	101	100	100	101
Number	8	3	5	8
	$\tau = .19$		$\tau = .14$	

Table 5.6 Satisfaction with Roles and Origin. Relationship Controlled on Time in the Community

Satisfaction with Roles	Time in the Community			
	Less than One Year		More than One Year	
	Northern	Southern	Northern	Southern
Low	43%	0%	67%	0%
Medium	57	80	0	17
High	0	20	33	83
Total percent	100	100	100	100
Number	7	5	6	6
	$\tau = .14$		$\tau = .33$	

Northerners expressed much lower satisfaction with their roles than did Southerners, regardless of controls on age or time in the community. In fact, the relationship between satisfaction and origin is strengthened for subjects with more than one year's residence in the community.

According to role theory, the human organism is extremely plastic, tending toward adjustment. Thus longer-term residents in the new community would be expected to feel greater satisfaction in their roles than would newcomers. But an important question emerges. Why were the majority of Northern migrants still in the low satisfaction category after a year or more in the new community? We turn now to the analysis of the data in terms of the hypotheses, perhaps there to find some answers.

Investigation of the Hypotheses

In the following analysis of the data, simple statistical methods are used to investigate various hypothesized relationships. Percentage distributions are used to display relationships, and where appropriate, the relationships are controlled for origin of subjects.

The gamma statistic, which is suitable for ordinal data, is provided as a measure of association. In three cases, however, the existence of zero frequencies produces a misleading +1.0 or 0.0 statistic, and in other cases, the smallness of the numbers produces some irregularities.

Hypothesis one. Multiplicity of roles in the original community is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community. The associations found in the data are presented in Table 5.7 and Table 5.8, respectively.

Table 5.7 Multiplicity of Roles (in the New Community) and Multiplicity of Roles in the Original Community. Relationship Controlled on Origin

Multiplicity Of Roles (New Community)	Total Association			Contingent Associations					
	Multiplicity of Roles, Original Community			Northern			Southern		
				Multiplicity of Roles, Original Community			Multiplicity of Roles, Original Community		
	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Low	20%	14%	17%	0%	20%	25%	20%	0%	0%
Medium	60	71	50	0	60	63	60	100	25
High	20	14	33	0	20	13	20	0	75
Total percent	100	99	100	0	100	101	100	100	100
Number	5	7	12	0	5	8	5	2	4
	γ = +.20			γ = -.18			γ = +.75		

The expected positive association between multiplicity of roles in the new community and multiplicity of roles in the original community is found among Southerners only. Northern migrants tended to lose in multiplicity of roles, so that for them there is a slight negative association between multiplicity of roles in the new community and multiplicity of roles in the original community. The experience of the Northerners, then, appears to run counter to the role theory postulate that the ability to enact many roles is advantageous, promoting role-taking skill and integration into society.

Table 5.8 indicates that the hypothesized positive association between multiplicity of roles in the original community and satisfaction with roles in the new community is found only among Southerners. Among Northerners the association was a strong negative one.

Table 5.8 Satisfaction with Roles (in the New Community) and Multiplicity of Roles in the Original Community. Relationship Controlled on Origin

Satisfaction with Roles (New Community)	Total Association			Contingent Associations					
				Northern			Southern		
	Multiplicity of Roles, Original Community			Multiplicity of Roles, Original Community			Multiplicity of Roles, Original Community		
	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Low	0%	25%	42%	0%	40%	63%	0%	0%	0%
Medium	50	38	33	0	20	38	50	50	25
High	50	38	25	0	40	0	50	50	75
Total percent	100	101	100	0	100	101	100	100	100
Number	4	8	12	0	5	8	4	2	4
	$\gamma = -.41$			$\gamma = -.55$			$\gamma = +.33$		

It is possible that this negative association between multiplicity of roles in the original community and satisfaction in the new community is attributable to the fact that Northerners who had been high or medium in multiplicity of roles in the original community had lost in multiplicity of roles when they migrated to the new community. In order to explore this possibility Satisfaction with Roles was cross-tabulated with a new variable, Gain or Loss in Multiplicity of Roles (in the new community compared with the original community.) Table 5.9 presents the resulting percentage distribution. Data on a subject who was still residing in her home town were not included.

As Table 5.9 indicates, for both Northerners and Southerners alike, loss in multiplicity of roles is associated with low satisfaction, whereas gain in multiplicity of roles is associated with high satisfaction.

Table 5.9 Satisfaction with Roles (in the New Community) and Gain or Loss in Multiplicity of Roles. Relationship Controlled on Origin

Satisfaction with Roles (New Community)	Total Association			Contingent Association					
	Gain-Loss in Multiplicity of Roles			Northern			Southern		
				Gain-Loss in Mult. of Roles			Gain-Loss in Mult. of Roles		
	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Low	55%	14%	0%	67%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Medium	36	43	20	33	33	0	50	50	25
High	9	43	80	0	33	100	50	50	75
Total percent	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	100
Number	11	7	5	9	3	1	2	4	4
	$\gamma = +.80$			$\gamma = +.79$			$\gamma = +.38$		

As indicated in Table 5.10, a greater proportion of Northerners suffered loss in multiplicity of roles than did Southerners. Again, data on the subject who was residing in her home town was not included.

Table 5.10 Northerners and Southerners Compared as to Gain or Loss in Roles

Gain or Loss in Multiplicity of Roles	Northerners		Southerners	
	No.	%	No.	%
Loss	9	69	2	20
Same	3	23	4	40
Gain	1	8	4	40
Total	13	100	10	100

In summary hypothesis one, that multiplicity of roles in the original community is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community, is supported by the data on Southerners, but NOT supported by the data on Northerners. Further analysis of the data reveals that Northern migrants, far more than Southern movers, suffered loss in multiplicity of roles. Loss of roles, for both Northerners and Southerners, was found to be associated with low satisfaction with roles.

Hypothesis two. Preparatory training for roles in the new community is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community. The index of Preparation for Roles (in the new community) includes such factors as attendance at an orientation program and previous experience in Southern Canada. Thus the index is suitable only for use with Northerners; accordingly, the percentage in

Table 5.11 and Table 5.12 are based on Northerners only.

Table 5.11 Multiplicity of Roles and Preparation for Roles in the New Community

Multiplicity of Roles	Preparation for Roles		
	Low	Medium	High
Low	40%	20%	0%
Medium	60	40	100
High	0	40	0
Total percent	100	100	100
Number	5	5	3
	$\gamma = +.44$		

The hypothesized relationship between preparation for roles and multiplicity of roles was found among Northerners. However, as Table 5.12 indicates, a slightly negative relationship was found between preparation for roles and satisfaction.

Table 5.12 Satisfaction with Roles and Preparation for Roles in the New Community

Satisfaction with Roles	Preparation for Roles		
	Low	Medium	High
Low	60%	40%	67%
Medium	20	40	33
High	20	20	0
Total percent	100	100	100
Number	5	5	3
	$\gamma = -.09$		

The negative relationship between preparation for roles and satisfaction with roles is puzzling. But there is some precedence for this finding: Deprez and Sigurdson (1969) found a negative relationship between education and job satisfaction among Canadian native males. These authors argued that education sensitized natives to prejudice, raised their aspirations, and alienated them when job opportunities did not accompany the education. It seems appropriate, then, in the flow of analysis of the present study, to investigate the relationship between education and satisfaction with roles, controlling for origin. Table 5.13 depicts the results of this investigation.

Table 5.13 Satisfaction with Roles and Education. Relationship Controlled on Origin

Satisfaction with Roles	Total Association			Contingent Association					
				Northern			Southern		
	Education			Education			Education		
	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Low	43%	33%	13%	60%	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%
Medium	43	33	38	20	33	50	100	33	33
High	14	33	50	20	17	0	0	67	67
Total percent	100	99	101	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	7	9	8	5	6	2	2	3	6
	$\gamma = +.43$			$\gamma = +.12$			$\gamma = +.60$		

The investigation of the relationship between satisfaction with roles and education is limited by the fact that subjects are actually quite homogeneous as to education. The values on the Education variable are as follows: low, grade 8 or 9; medium, grade 10 or 11; high, grade

12 or more. A comparison between literates and illiterates would probably be more revealing. The relationship between satisfaction with roles and education, while positive for both groups, is considerably weaker for Northerners than for Southerners, perhaps lending support to the Deprez-Sigurdson argument.

In summary, hypothesis two, that preparatory training for roles in the new community is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community, is only partially supported by the data on Northerners. Preparatory training is positively associated with greater multiplicity of roles, but it is negatively associated with satisfaction with roles. Possibly preparation, which includes education, raised aspirations, leading ultimately to disappointment and low satisfaction with roles in the new community.

Hypothesis three. Motivation to migrate is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community. Only Northerners were considered in the construction of the Motivation to Migrate index, since, as was discussed earlier, our definition of migrant excludes many Southerners. As Table 5.14 and Table 5.15 indicate, hypothesis three is not supported by the data. Highly motivated Northern migrants were not more successful in acquiring new roles and were not more satisfied with their new roles than were relatively unmotivated Northern migrants. Data on motivation to migrate were not available on one Northerner who had migrate before she met her husband.

Table 5.14 Multiplicity of Roles and Motivation to Migrate

Multiplicity of Roles	Motivation to Migrate	
	Low	Medium
Low	0%	33%
Medium	67	67
High	33	0
Total percent	100	100
Number	6	6
	γ = -1.0	

Table 5.15 Satisfaction with Roles and Motivation to Migrate

Satisfaction with Roles	Motivation to Migrate	
	Low	Medium
Low	50%	50%
Medium	33	33
High	17	17
Total percent	100	100
Number	6	6
	γ = 0	

Hypothesis four. *Perceived failure to satisfy physiochemical needs is negatively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community*. The index of *Satisfaction of Physiochemical Needs* produced little variance among the subjects. Only two subjects, both Northerners, scored below the "high" value on the index. Analysis of these two cases supports hypothesis four in that both the women scored "low" on the indices of *Multiplicity of Roles* and *Satisfaction with Roles*.

Hypothesis five. Perception of incentives in role expectations is associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community. The data on the subjects' perception of incentives in the various role expectations is insufficient to permit construction of an index of Perception of Incentives. Discussion of incentives requires both a high degree of self-awareness and facility with the language. It is doubtful whether more than a very small percentage of the general population could respond in detail to questions on incentives in role expectations. In any case, the subjects in this study discussed their hopes for the future with respect to the husband's occupation rather than with respect to their own role expectations. This may be a typical response for housewives. On the other hand, it may be that the fact that the interviews were conducted under the auspices of the husband's training program influenced the women to respond as they did.

It is worth noting that of the five Northerners who said that their main hope for the future was to return to the North, four felt low satisfaction with their roles. The relationship between plans to return to the North and low satisfaction with roles may be a reciprocal one.

Hypothesis six. Lack of socioemotional problems is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community. In order to gauge socioemotional state, an index of socioemotional problems was constructed. Loneliness, boredom, and "other" problems are included on the index. As Table 5.16 indicates, Northerners were experiencing more socioemotional problems than were Southerners.

Table 5.16 Northerners and Southerners Compared as to Socioemotional Problems

Socioemotional Problems	Northerners		Southerners	
	No.	%	No.	%
High	6	46	0	0
Medium	5	38	7	64
Low	2	15	4	36
Total	13	99	11	100
	$\gamma = +.72$			

The skewness of the distribution of Northerners and Southerners on the Socioemotional Problems variable results in many zero frequencies when that variable is cross-tabulated with the variables, Multiplicity of Roles and Satisfaction with Roles. Hence the gamma summary statistic is somewhat distorted. Moreover, generalizations based on the cross-tabulations are rather conjectural. The cross-tabulations, in the form of percentage distributions are presented in Table 5.17 and Table 5.18.

The contingent associations in Table 5.17 reveal two different patterns. For Northerners there is a positive association between multiplicity of roles and freedom from socioemotional problems; for Southerners there is a negative association.

Table 5.17 Multiplicity of Roles and Socioemotional Problems. Relationship Controlled on Origin

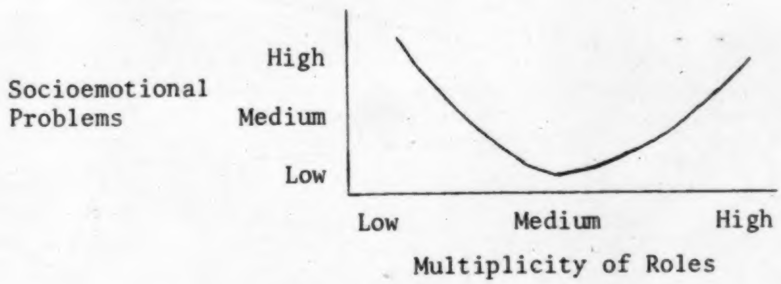
Multiplicity Of Roles	Total Association			Contingent Associations					
	Socioemotional Problems			Northern			Southern		
				Socioemotional Problems			Socioemotional Problems		
	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low
Low	33%	8%	17%	33%	20%	0%	0%	0%	25%
Medium	67	67	33	67	80	0	0	57	50
High	0	25	50	0	0	100	0	43	25
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	0	100	100
Number	6	12	6	6	5	2	0	7	4
	$\gamma = +.55$			$\gamma = +.73$			$\gamma = -.53$		

Table 5.18 Satisfaction with Roles and Socioemotional Problems. Relationship Controlled on Origin

Satisfaction with Roles	Total Association			Contingent Associations					
	Socioemotional Problems			Northern			Southern		
				Socioemotional Problems			Socioemotional Problems		
	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low
Low	83%	8%	17%	83%	20%	50%	0%	0%	0%
Medium	17	50	33	17	60	0	0	43	50
High	0	42	50	0	20	50	0	57	50
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	0	100	100
Number	6	12	6	6	5	2	0	7	4
	$\gamma = +.66$			$\gamma = +.68$			$\gamma = -.14$		

These different patterns of association could be explained if there were a curvilinear relationship between multiplicity of roles and socioemotional problems. Such a relationship is represented in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 Observed Relationship Between Multiplicity of Roles and Socioemotional Problems



On this figure Northerners would tend to be distributed on the left, since they tend to have low to medium multiplicity of roles; Southerners on the other hand, would tend to be distributed on the right.

Some of the rationale for the existence of such a curvilinear relationship can be drawn from Sarbin and Allen. According to these authors the total role obligations of most individuals are over-demanding, tending to produce cognitive strain. The Southerners, then, would be typical of the general population, that is, troubled by over-demanding role obligations. The Northerners, however, have a different problem. They are more prone to be troubled by insufficiency of roles. It is suggested here that such insufficiency of roles may produce socioemotional problems.

Table 5.18 indicates that the hypothesized relationship between freedom from socioemotional problems and satisfaction with roles is found among Northerners. The slight negative relationship found among

Southerners is no doubt an artifact of the skewness of the distribution.

In the foregoing discussion of migrants' socioemotional problems it was impossible to specify which variables were dependent and which indpendent. The difficulty lies in the reciprocal nature of the relationships between Multiplicity of Roles and Socioemotional Problems and between Satisfaction with Roles and Socioemotional Problems. An illustration will elucidate. There is evidence that the socioemotional problem of feeling rejected by society caused some subjects to avoid roles in community organizations. Thus Multiplicity of Roles functions as the dependent variable. On the other hand, the role of employee reduced the likelihood of having the socioemotional problem of boredom, and thus Socioemotional State functions as the dependent variable.

Indeed, the relationship between employment and freedom from boredom is so striking, for both Northerners and Southerners, that it is worth noting here. The relationship is presented in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19 Boredom and Employment. Relationship Controlled on Origin

Boredom	Total Association		Contingent Associations			
			Northerners		Southerners	
	Jobless	Working	Jobless	Working	Jobless	Working
Bored	82%	29%	91%	50%	67%	20%
Not Bored	18	71	9	50	33	80
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	17	7	11	2	6	5
	Q = +.84		Q = +.81		Q = +.78	

(Yule's Q is a gamma statistic.)

In summary, hypothesis six, that lack of socioemotional problems is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community, is supported by the data on Northerners. Southerners, however, appear to differ from Northerners in that for them there is a negative association between lack of socioemotional problems and multiplicity of roles. Possibly, among Southerners overdemanding role obligations are more troublesome than insufficiency of roles, whereas the opposite appears to be true of Northerners. Southerners are like Northerners, though, in that for them lack of socioemotional problems is associated with satisfaction with roles in the new community.

Hypothesis seven. Perception of positive audience response to role enactment is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community. The index Perceived Audience Response measured the subjects' perception of positive audience feedback as a ratio of actual perceived positive response to maximum possible perceived positive response, considering only the roles enacted. As seen in Table 5.20 and 5.21, the data tend to support the hypothesis.

Again the variables can be shown to bear a reciprocal relationship to each other. No doubt a subject who perceived positive audience response to her enactment of the role of employee would be encouraged to retain the role. In such an instance, the variable Multiplicity of Roles would be functioning as the dependent variable. On the other hand, as shown in Table 5.20, all those subjects who perceived high positive audience response had at least medium multiplicity of roles. Thus perception of positive audience response appears to depend upon multiplicity of roles.

Table 5.20 Multiplicity of Roles and Perceived Positive Audience Response to Role Enactment. Relationship Controlled On Origin

Multiplicity of Roles	Total Associations			Contingent Associations					
	Perceived Response			Northerners			Southerners		
				Perceived Response			Perceived Response		
	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Low	33%	30%	0%	50%	40%	0%	0%	20%	0%
Medium	67	40	73	50	40	83	100	40	60
High	0	30	27	0	20	17	0	40	40
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	3	10	11	2	5	6	1	5	5
	$\gamma = +.43$			$\gamma = +.56$			$\gamma = +.30$		

In elucidating this dependence upon multiplicity of roles for positive audience response, it is useful to distinguish between achieved and ascribed roles. Sarbin and Allen observed that ascribed roles, such as the role of mother, provide little opportunity for positive valuation by an audience. (Poor performance, though, receives strong negative response.) In contrast, achieved roles provide rich opportunities for positive valuation. (But relatively little attention is paid to poor performance of most achieved roles.) Thus a subject whose only major roles were ascribed ones, such as the role of mother, might have little opportunity for positive audience response. In addition, it is possible that migration would have caused the women to lose audiences that formerly provided positive valuation of ascribed roles. For example, Northern migrant mothers would have lost much of the positive audience response provided by grandparents in the original community. It may be that the loss of an audience which positively valued ascribed roles partially accounts for the general dissatisfaction of the Northerners, and for the eagerness of many to find employment, which would provide an achieved role whereby a woman could win positive audience response.

Table 5.21 Satisfaction with Roles and Perceived Positive Audience Response. Relationship Controlled on Origin

Satisfaction with Roles	Total Association			Contingent Associations					
	Perceived Response			Northerners			Southerners		
				Perceived Response			Perceived Response		
	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High	Low	Med.	High
Low	33%	50%	9%	50%	100%	17%	0%	0%	0%
Medium	67	30	36	50	0	50	100	60	20
High	0	20	55	0	0	33	0	40	80
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	3	10	11	2	5	6	1	5	5
	$\gamma = +.60$			$\gamma = +.68$			$\gamma = +.80$		

Six cases which deviate from the hypothesized relationship between satisfaction with roles and perception of audience response bear some comment. These are the cases of six Northern women who perceived medium or high positive audience response yet were low in satisfaction with their roles. Five of these women had experienced reduced multiplicity of roles in the new community compared with the original one.

Here, then, is another indication that insufficiency of roles in the new community is a source of discontent to the Northern migrant wives.

On the whole, however, the data on both Northerners and Southerners support hypothesis seven, that perception of positive audience response to role enactment is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community.

Summary of the investigation of the hypotheses

Following is a brief summary of the results of the data analysis in terms of the seven hypotheses.

As was mentioned earlier, the smallness of the numbers of subjects severely limits the use of hypothesis-testing techniques. The study must therefore be viewed as exploratory, and any "findings" must be considered merely suggestive.

With that caution in mind, we will review the results of the investigation of the seven hypotheses. Adjustment of migrants was operationalized as two dependent variables, Multiplicity of Roles and Satisfaction with Roles. Positive relationships were hypothesized between the dependent variables and the following independent variables:

(1) Multiplicity of Roles in the Original Community
(2) Preparation for Roles in the New Community
(3) Motivation to Migrate
(4) Perceived Satisfaction of Physiochemical Needs
(5) Perception of Incentives in Roles
(6) Socioemotional Problems

(7) Perceived Audience Response to Role Enactment.

Serendipitously, the nature of the data invited comparison of two groups among the subjects: Northern migrants and Southern movers. Comparisons were of course focussed by the seven hypotheses, though in some instances the hypothesis was relevant only to the Northern migrants.

Comparison of the Northerners and Southerners on the dependent variables revealed that Northerners were slightly lower than Southerners on Multiplicity of Roles and much lower on Satisfaction with Roles. When controls for Age and Time in the New Community were introduced the relationships between the dependent variables and Origin (Northern or Southern) remained.

For the most part, when the hypothesized associations were controlled for Origin distinct differences in the adjustment of Northerners and Southerners appeared.

Hypothesis one, that multiplicity of roles in the original community is positively associated with multiplicity of roles and satisfaction with roles in the new community, was supported by the data on Southerners but not supported by those on Northerners. The key factor appeared to be gain or loss in multiplicity of roles, loss being associated with reduced satisfaction for both Northerners and Southerners, but Northerners suffering greater loss than Southerners.

Only Northerners were investigated with regard to Preparation for Roles in the New Community, the independent variable from Hypothesis two. A positive relationship was found between this variable and Multiplicity of Roles, and a slight negative relationship between it and Satisfaction with Roles. The possibility exists that preparation for roles raised aspirations which, when unrealized, led to dissatisfaction.

Hypothesis three, concerning motivation to migrate was examined only with reference to Northerners and was not supported by the data.

Neither Hypothesis four, concerning physiochemical needs, nor Hypothesis five, concerning perception of incentives in role expectations, could be thoroughly investigated. There was too little variance in the index of satisfaction of physiochemical needs and insufficient data to permit construction of an index of perception of incentives.

The positive relationship between Multiplicity of Roles and Lack of Socioemotional Problems, which was predicted by Hypothesis six, was found in the data on Northerners but not in that on Southerners. A possible explanation could be that Northerners were troubled by insufficiency of roles, whereas Southerners were more troubled by over-demanding role obligations. However, the hypothesized relationship between Satisfaction with Roles and Lack of Socioemotional Problems was found among both Northerners and Southerners.

Hypothesis seven was supported by the data on both Northerners and Southerners in that both Multiplicity of Roles and Satisfaction with Roles were positively related to Perceived Positive Audience Response.

Four Case Studies

In the discussion of the data in terms of the hypotheses, the situation of the trainees' wives has been presented in a rather piecemeal fashion. It remains now to present a more well-rounded view of several cases. Following are case studies of four Northern wives. Besides providing unified portraits of individuals, these case studies explore aspects of role theory not included in the original hypotheses. In addition, the case studies will be evaluated as tools for predicting the adjustment of the four migrant wives.

The subjects of the case studies are selected on the basis of their placement on the Satisfaction with Roles index. The four cases include the subject who placed lowest, a subject who was in the medium range, and the only two subjects who placed high in satisfaction. Since seven of the thirteen Northern migrant wives expressed low satisfaction with their roles, the case study representing those seven women receives most attention here. The names used are pseudonyms.

A case of low satisfaction. Sandra, an Inuk, twenty years old at the time of the interview, received part of her grade-eight education in the form of adult up-grading in her hometown, a settlement of less than one thousand in the N.W.T. She had spent her early years in a tiny Inuit village, but information on her education during those years is not available. At the time of the interview Sandra was not formally married according to white Canadian tradition, but she had lived with her husband, an Inuk from her hometown, for four years. The couple had two children, one and two years old.

Sandra's employment record consisted of two years' work as a waitress in a coffee shop in her hometown.

Prior to their migration neither Sandra nor her husband had had any experience in Southern Canada. Sandra said that they moved "to see what the country is like and especially because of the (training) program." Both Sandra and her husband had been highly motivated to move; Sandra commented, "We discussed it and were happy about the move, as there were no jobs for my husband in (the hometown)." The move went smoothly. The family flew from the North together and were greeted by a Supervisor Counsellor, who drove them to their destination, a hamlet in Southern Saskatchewan. A trailer was "all ready" for the family.

At the time of the interview Sandra had been living in the Saskatchewan hamlet for eight months. She described the community thus:

> It's really different from the North. It's a small community and the people are not friendly. There are not many stores for shopping. We have to go to Medicine Hat to shop and we don't have a car. . . We had more friends in the North. Here we don't know anyone. We only know the other two families that are trainees. . .My husband likes the training, but doesn't like his co-workers. . .The people here are very unfriendly and hard to get to know. When we met people shopping, they just laugh and stare at us. . .I really have no friends. The other trainees' wives never visit. I don't know any community people.

When asked about her standard of living in the new community, Sandra expressed satisfaction. She explained:

> We have more room for the children. Everything is more modern here. In (hometown) we had no running water. . .We have more money here and we have been able to save. Prices are lower here.

In spite of the improvement in the family's standard of living, Sandra felt that this was not a good place to bring up her children commenting, "White children will not play with my children."

The family had been troubled more by illness since the move than they had been in the North. The children had had "diarrhea and sores," but the family had not been in contact with a doctor. Neither had they attended to standard immunization of the children, either in the North or South.

Sandra's leisure activities were limited in the South in comparison with those in the North. In the North she had played basketball and volleyball and had gone to the movies. She described her leisure activities in the South:

> I miss the sports. . . I have a lot of time here, so I watch a lot of T.V. . . . On weekends we play games, go to the bar sometimes, and go to dances--with the same couples--other trainee wives and their husbands.

Some of her leisure time Sandra spent with her children: "I take the children out for a walk or just play outside on the swing with them."

Sandra did not have a job outside the home, but she would have liked one, she said, not only for the money it would bring in, but also because it would give her "a chance to get out and meet new people."

Sandra, like her husband, was troubled by homesickness. She told how she and her husband coped with the feeling:

> I mostly write letters and try to visit with them (friends and relatives) once in a while. We are spending Christmas in (the hometown). My husband writes or phones.

The best way for anyone to cope with loneliness, Sandra thought, was to "go out and visit someone to keep from thinking of the North."

Boredom was also a problem for Sandra. She told how she coped with it: "I clean my house, sew, just anything to keep me busy."

Sandra felt that certain forms of assistance would have eased her adjustment to life in the South. She said that she wished she had been able to attend the orientation program which her husband had attended. "Then" she said, "I'd know more about the South." Sandra thought that a female Supervisor Counsellor could also help: "She could help us mix with the community people."

Sandra was torn by conflicting desires to be up North and to see her husband complete the training program. The conflict appears in the following remarks made at different times during the interview:

> Sometimes I just want him (her husband) to quit and go back North, as I really miss it . . . If the people were more friendly I wouldn't mind so much . . . I'd like him to continue in the program. Then he would make a better living . . . I think it's a real good program, and my husband will have a trade when he completes it.

Sandra placed her hope in the future: "When he (her husband) completes his training we would like to move back North." Questioned as to what they would do if her husband did not complete the training program, Sandra said confidently, "He will complete his training."

Although reading the report of the interview with Sandra gives one the impression that she chatted freely, this was not the case. The interviewer commented on the Post-Interview Impressions Sheet, "(Sandra) is shy and quiet. She would not answer right away, or would just answer yes or no. Sometimes I had to pry to get any answer at all."

The interviewer had a very favorable impression of Sandra's competence as a housewife and mother. However, the Supervisor Counsellor reported that, as citizens, Sandra and her husband had less than perfect records, both having been involved in weekend brawls. The Supervisor Counsellor, in fulfilling the responsibilities of his job, had had to reprimand Sandra's husband. This fact no doubt contributed to what the interviewer saw as shyness and embarrassment in Sandra's demeanor in the presence of the Supervisor Counsellor.

Details of Sandra's case can be used to exemplify various topics included in Sarbin and Allen's discussion of role theory. Because of space limitations, and to some extent because of limitations in the data, it is not possible to do more than suggest the topics from role theory and the corresponding details from Sandra's case.

Embarrassment caused by failure to fulfill role expectations is exemplified by Sandra's demeanor before the Supervisor Counsellor. In this situation the Supervisor Counsellor acted as an audience which demonstrated disapproval of Sandra and her husband's failure to fulfill the role expectations of law-abiding citizens.

Unclarity of role expectations on the part of the performer is suggested by at least two of Sandra's statements. First, she wished that she could have attended an orientation program so that she "would know more about the South." As it was, Sandra's passage to new roles in the South was painfully abrupt. Secondly she expressed a desire to have a female Supervisor Counsellor to help her "mix with the community people."

Sandra's desire for assistance suggests the value of a coach to teach migrants new role expectations, demands, and skills. (The intensity of Sandra's need for friendly, instructive contact with Southerners is indicated by the fact that when the family was travelling home to the North for Christmas, they used a few precious hours to visit the interviewer in her home in Edmonton.)

According to Sarbin and Allen, uncertainty of role expectations and lack of role-taking skills both have detrimental effects on task performance and on socioemotional state. These effects may be seen in Sandra's case. For example, Sandra's failure to have her children immunized and attended by a doctor when ill is undoubtedly the result more of unclarity of role expectations than indifference. Lack of role-taking skills, according to Sarbin and Allen is associated with delinquency, behavior disorders, and asocial patterns of behavior. Possibly, then, the weekend brawls could be attributed to lack of role-taking skills. It is impossible to tell how much actual unfriendliness of the community was responsible for Sandra's loneliness and frustrations. (However, Sandra's impressions of this community are shared by another respondent.) Clearly, though, Sandra's own lack of role-taking skills and uncertainty as to role expectations and demands contributed to emotional and cognitive strain.

Visibility seemed to be a problem for Sandra in that she felt that she was laughed and stared at while shopping.

Incongruence between self and role is indicated by Sandra's feeling that she, an ordinarily gregarious person, was practically bereft of friends. Ensuing from self-role incongruence, according to Sarbin and Allen, are psychosomatic ailments, lack of concentration and commitment, unconvincing role enactment, social withdrawal, and breakdown of performance. All of these, with the possible exception of psychosomatic ailments, are exemplified in Sandra's case. Not surprisingly, Sandra sometimes just wanted to quit and go back North.

At least two common ways of reducing cognitive strain were used by Sandra. One was attention deployment, evident in her recommendation to handle homesickness by avoiding thinking of the North. The other was the use of tranquillizors and releasers, such as alcohol. Sarbin and Allen also classify intense muscular exercises, for example, "anything to keep me busy" as a releaser.

Of the factors which affect allocation of a person's resources, one was salient in Sandra's conversation. That was "estimate of reward." In Sandra's case the reward was a secure financial future if she and her husband could play out their roles in the South and return to the North, the husband with a trade.

A case of medium satisfaction. Irene, an Inuk, twenty-two years of age at the time of the interview, had received her grade twelve education in two different residential schools, far from the small settlement where her parents lived. She had been married three years and had a two-year-old child. Irene had met her husband, an Indian, when she was working as a sales clerk in a small community other than her hometown. Previously, she had been employed for a year as a teacher's assistant in her hometown.

The only experience Irene and her husband had had in the South prior to moving occurred when their child was hospitalized for two weeks in the Charles Camsell hospital in Edmonton. Irene reported that she and her husband had both been excited about the move, eagerly anticipating the "opportunity and a different place." Largely through the efforts of the Supervisor Counsellor, the move went smoothly. The family was met at the airport in Calgary by the Supervisor Counsellor and was then driven to its dstination, a small city in Saskatchewan, where a furnished trailer was ready.

At the time of the interview, Irene and her husband had been in the South only a month. Irene had formed a favorable impression of the community:

> I like it here. The community is okay. People are friendly, especially the older people. . . This community is larger (than the Northern community). There are more shops.

She considered the community a good place to raise her child, and although she did not elaborate, she commented that she and her husband were "better off" in their marriage relationship in the South than in the North.

The move to the South had not changed their standard of living, Irene said. In fact, they had less money in the South than in the North. Generally, however, she was satisfied with their standard of living.

Nevertheless, Irene was interested in seeking employment, partly for the income, but also because it would be "something to look forward to every day."

Irene said that she had had "a fair idea of what to expect" in the South. Still, she thought it would have been a good idea to attend the orientation program with her husband "to learn about appliances." She also thought that a female Supervisor Counsellor would be helpful too: "She could show us around the town and maybe help us establish credit."

In the North, Irene's involvement in activities outside the home included gym classes, ceramics, volleyball, basketball, and badminton. In the South she had not yet become involved in similar activities, but she and her husband planned to inquire at the Y.M.C.A. with regard to such activities. In the meantime Irene had more time on her hands than she had had in the North. Some she filled by sewing and watching T.V. On weekends she and her husband went "to the bar and to concerts."

Loneliness and boredom were problems for Irene, but she coped by writing letters and visiting friends.

Irene was so confident that her husband would complete his training program that she had not considered any contingency plans. She evaluated the program as "a good thing with lots of opportunities." She described her hopes for the future: "When he (her husband) completes his training, we would like to live in the South and go up North for holidays."

In summary, Irene appeared to be encountering few problems in adjusting to life in the South. It appeared that if she found means to more fully occupy her time, either through employment or involvement in community activities, or both, she probably would be rated as well-adjusted in terms of this study. Events proved otherwise, as we shall see later.

A case of high satisfaction. At the time of the interview, Gail, an Inuk, was nineteen years old. She had received eight years of education in her hometown in the North, and had taken grade nine in a residential school. While she was living at the residential school she had met her husband. The couple, not formally married by white Canadian custom, had two children, two years and eight months of age.

Both Gail and her husband had visited the South before the move and knew what to expect. However, Gail would have liked to have attended the orientation program. Both Gail and her husband were happy about the move, because, as Gail said, her husband was convinced that "the program would be a good thing for us to get ahead."

At the time of the interview, Gail had been living for a year in the small Alberta town where her husband was training. During that year, Gail, according to her own report, had had only positive experiences. The move had been like the moves described in the previous case studies. Gail liked the town and found the people friendly. She emphasized the plentifulness of friends, including other trainees and their families, and local people. The family's accommodation in the South was "much better" than what they had had in the North. For the first time the couple had been able to save money, partly because of lower prices in the South.

Since the move, the second child had been born, in a Southern hospital, where Gail felt that she had been well treated. The family was in good health, so that Gail's only other contact with the health system in Alberta involved immunization of the children. Gail considered the community a good place to raise her children. Her toddler, she said, had many playmates, including white children.

Gail had not belonged to any community organizations in the North, but in the South she had been approached by members of a group called

"Oil Wives," and she was considering joining their organization. She did not have many leisure activities apart from visiting with friends and "going to the bar" with her husband, but she found that caring for her two children kept her fully occupied.

Gail had never been employed, and at the time of the interview she was not interested in work outside the home. Boredom was sometimes a problem, especially, she explained, "if I don't go out for awhile. But" she continued, "I have the children to look after and they keep me busy."

In summary, Gail was glad that she and her husband had made the move South. She gave her reasons as follows:

> I like the town: the people are friendly. (Husband) enjoys the program and will complete it. He plans on staying after his training is done, and so would I. I don't care to go back up North, as I don't miss it.

In many respects, Gail was in curcumstances like those of Sandra, the case of low satisfaction: married to a trainee, raising two small children, living in a trailer in a small town, experiencing improved standard of living. But the two women were at opposite extremes of the Satisfaction with Roles index. While the difference in satisfaction may be attributable to difference in the "friendliness" of their respective communities, or to the subjects' differing individual dispositional characteristics, role theory suggests at least two other explanations. One is that Gail, unlike Sandra, had not lost in multiplicity of roles. In fact, through having borne a child in the South she had gained additional responsibilities in the role of mother. Furthermore, she had the prospect of membership for the first time in a woman's organization. A second explanation for Gail's greater satisfaction with her roles may be that during her reportedly pleasant maternity experience in a southern hospital she had received some positive valuation in the South of her role of mother. Subsequent contact with the health care system, for infant check-ups and immunization, may also have provided some positive valuation of motherhood. Sandra, on the other hand, had no parallel experiences.

Another case of high satisfaction. Alice, an Indian, was twenty-six years old at the time of the interview. Being originally from a tiny Northern hamlet, she had been required to take her eleven years of schooling in a residential school. Prior to the move she had spent holidays in Edmonton and Calgary. She had been married three years to a white man from the North. The couple had two children, a three-year-old, and a baby six months of age.

Alice and her husband had been living in a medium-sized Alberta town for four years--longer than any of the other respondents. Here their standard of living was much the same as it had been in the large northern centre where the couple had lived prior to the move. An outstanding event at the time of their move had been a community welcome, including a "welcome wagon." Since leaving high school Alice had been steadily employed at secretarial jobs, for a total of eight years, both in the North and the South. At the time of the interview she was working as a clerk typist and reported that she liked the work, the pay, and her co-workers. Alice was satisfied with the arrangements she had made with "a lady in the trailer court" for the care of her children while she worked. The medical needs of the family were provided for; they had a family doctor and dentist, and had attended to immunizations. There had been no illness in the family since the move.

Alice was unusually free of socioemotional problems. She was well satisfied with her leisure activities, which included curling, skating, going to dances, and visiting with "a variety of friends." She said that she was never lonesome or homesick; however, she phoned and wrote "home" frequently. As for boredom, Alice said, "I never get a chance to get bored, with my job and housework and children." Alice and her husband were pleased with the training program, and saw it as a means toward their goals, which were "to make more money and own our own home."

In spite of her successful adjustment to the new community, Alice looked forward to returning to the North when the training was complete.

Alice had gained in multiplicity of roles, and like Gail, possibly had received positive valuation for her role of mother through contact with the health care system. In addition, she probably had received positive valuation for her role as a clerk-typist, since she rated her co-workers and employer as very friendly, co-operative and helpful.

Some women would find Alice's role obligations overdemanding. The fact that Alice did not seem to find them so suggests a particular dispositional characteristic on her part, possibly including a high activity level.

According to both role theory and the literature on adjustment of migrants, the thrust is usually forward, toward greater adjustment. Alice, as a four-year veteran of the migration experience, might have been expected to have proceeded farther toward adjustment than would more recent migrants.

Using case studies to predict adjustment. Case studies are often used clinically to predict adjustment. Most people, looking at the case studies of Sandra, Irene, Gail and Alice, would have selected Sandra as the person most likely to fail to adjust to the new environment. However, according to the follow-up data collected a year and a half after the interviews, Sandra and her husband were still living in the Saskatchewan hamlet. In the interval they had been married according to the custom of the white society. This step is commonly taken by native couples in an effort to adjust to the norms of the white society. One might guess, then, that Sandra (along with her husband) was persevering in her efforts to adjust to the new environment.

Of the four women, only Irene had returned to the North. According to the follow-up report, though, it was not failure to adjust to the new environment on Irene's part that caused return migration. It was reported that Irene's husband had a drinking problem, which had caused him to drop out of the training program. (Irene's obscure remark about being better of maritally in the South may have been founded on the hope that her husband would conquer his drinking problem in the South.) With her hopes for the future tied to her husband's career, Irene was practically powerless to either fulfill her hopes or to adjust to the South.

The preceding case studies have been useful in restoring flesh and blood to the subjects and in exploring paths untravelled by the hypotheses. As predictive tools, however, they would have been inefficient. It is possible, though, that more detail, including, for example, information on Irene's husband's drinking problem, could have improved the predictive accuracy of the case studies.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Introduction

It will be recalled that the present work had two main objectives. These were (1) to examine the utility of role theory supplemented by stress theory as a conceptual framework for the study of adjustment of migrants to their new environment; and (2) to apply the integrated role theory and stress theory to a study of a particular group of subjects. The latter of these objectives is considered first in the following discussion.

The Study

Methodology

The subjects. Using integrated role theory and stress theory we studied the adjustment of twenty-four wives of Northern trainees to their new environments in Southern Canada. The twenty-four women comprised the total population of wives of Northerners who in 1975 were receiving training in the gas industry. It had been expected that all the women would be Northern, native and migrant, but in actuality the group divided almost equally into Northerners and Southerners. Though all but one of the women were living in communities other than their hometowns, only the Northerners were considered to be migrants. All the Northerners were native, while the Southerners were of various ethnic backgrounds.

The opportunity for comparison that the two groups offered was serendipitous. Both groups were adjusting to new communities, but only one group could be considered migrant according to Eisenstadt's criteria of having abandoned one social setting and entered another and *different* one. The women in both groups were generally homogenous as to age, education, marital status, and socio-economic status.

Data collection. Data were collected from intensive interviews of the subjects; conversations with community reporters, that is, Supervisor Counsellors; and from a limited follow-up investigation eighteen months after the interviews.

Conceptual definition of adjustment. The definition of *adjustment* was derived from the integrated role theory and stress theory and was as follows: *an actor's dealing with or accommodating to a discrepancy between his knowledge of, or ability in, role expectations, role location, role demands, and role skills, and the knowledge or ability required for optimum role enactment*.

Operational definition of adjustment. In terms of the data, *adjustment* was operationalized as three dependent variables: *Multiplicity of Roles*, *Satisfaction with Roles*, and *Competence in Roles*. Corresponding indices were constructed, but only the first two had enough variance to be statistically useful.

Data analysis

Hypotheses. Seven hypotheses were investigated in the data analysis. Positive relationships had been hypothesized between the dependent variables and the following independent variables:

(1) Multiplicity of Roles in the Original Community
(2) Preparation for Roles in the New Community
(3) Motivation to Migrate
(4) Perceived Satisfaction of Physiochemical Needs
(5) Perception of Incentives in Role Expectations
(6) Lack of Socioemotional Problems
(7) Perceived Positive Audience Response to Role Enactment

Findings. The Northerners and Southerners were first compared on the two dependent variables, *Multiplicity of Roles* and *Satisfaction with Roles*. While Northerners were only slightly lower than Southerners on the *Multiplicity of Roles* index, they were much lower on the *Satisfaction with Roles* index. The relationships between the dependent variables and *Origin* (Northern or Southern) remained when controls for *Age* and *Time in the Community* were introduced. However, the control for *Time in the Community* revealed that among subjects residing in the community for more than a year, Northerners tended to be less involved in the community than were Southerners.

Of the two main dependent variables, *Satisfaction with Roles* was more revealing of different degrees of adjustment among the respondents; however, *Multiplicity of Roles* was useful in elaborating relationships.

For example, in Northerners low multiplicity of roles was associated low satisfaction, while in Southerners high multiplicity of roles was associated with low satisfaction.

Dramatic differences in the adjustment of Northerners and Southerners emerged when the hypothesized relationships were controlled for Origin. Northerners and Southerners were unequivocally alike only on the last hypothesized relationship (Hypothesis seven). For both groups, strong positive relationships were found between the dependent variables and Perceived Positive Audience Response to Role Enactment.

To some extent, the hypothesized relationships were found among Southerners and not among Northerners. Thus the expected positive relationships between the dependent variables and Multiplcity of Roles in the Original Community (Hypothesis one) was found among Southerners, while negative relationships were found among Northerners. The explanation of this contradiction may lie in the fact that Northerners, much more than Southerners, had lost in multiplicity of roles. When Satisfaction with Roles was correlated with a new variable, Gain or Loss in Roles, it became apparent that loss of multiplicity of roles was associated with low satisfaction for both Northerners and Southerners.

Only Northerners were investigated with regard to Preparation for Roles in the New Community (Hypothesis two). A positive relationship was found between this variable and Multiplicity of Roles, and a slight negative relationship between it and Satisfaction with Roles. Similarly Deprez and Sigurdson had found a negative relationship between education and job satisfaction among Canadian natives. Following the example of

Deprez and Sigurdson, we correlated a new variable, Education, with Satisfaction with Roles, controlled for Origin. A strong positive relationship was found for Southerners; a weak relationship for Northerners. Thus the investigation tended to support the Deprez-Sigurdson finding.

Only Northerners were included in the correlations between the dependent variables and Motivation to Migrate (Hypothesis three). The hypothesized relationship was not found.

It was not possible to thoroughly investigate the hypotheses concerning physiochemical needs (Hypothesis four) and perception of incentives in role expectations (Hypothesis five). In the former case, there was too little variance in the index. In the latter case, since most respondents had talked of incentives only in their husband's occupation, the data were insufficient to permit construction of an index.

The relationship between Multiplicity of Roles and Lack of Socioemotional Problems (Hypothesis six) was found to be positive for Northerners and negative for Southerners. A possible explanation of this finding is that a curvilinear relationship may exist. Thus Northerners were more troubled by insufficiency of roles, whereas Southerners were troubled instead by over-demanding role obligations. The relationship between Satisfaction with Roles and Lack of Socioemotional Problems was strongly positive for Northerners. Among Southerners the distribution was too skewed (tending toward high satisfaction, few problems) to permit reliable statistical analysis. It appeared, though, that for both Northerners and Southerners, the relationships involving socioemotional problems were reciprocal.

Case studies. Case studies supplemented the statistical data analysis by providing a rounded view of four Northern respondents, selected on the basis of satisfaction with their roles: one low, one medium, and two high in satisfaction. The case studies explored aspects of role theory not included in the original hypotheses. Topices included the following: clarity of role expectations, detrimental effects of unclarity, individual differences in dispositional characteristics affecting unclarity, abruptness of passage from one role to another, training in role skills, incongruence between self and role, the audience, visibility of role enactment, and ways of reducing cognitive strain resulting from role conflict.

The use of case studies for predicting adjustment was examined. The difficulties in predicting the wives' adjustment were multiplied by the fact that ultimately a wife's adjustment is limited by her husband's adjustment to the work situation.

Assessment of Role Theory Supplemented by Stress Theory

The utility of role theory in studying the adjustment of migrants has been established by Eisenstadt and others prior to the present study. However, the integration of role theory and stress theory which provided the theoretical framework for this study was unique. It may be judged as a qualified success.

Some of the theoretical constructs of role theory were invaluable, for example role expectations, role skills, role demands, audience, visibility of role enactment, and others. Though rules of correspondence to link these constructs to concrete data are generally lacking, it is quite possible for investigators to devise such rules. Other constructs, however, such as appropriateness, propriety, and convincingness, intended for use in assessing role enactment, were found to be so lacking in specificity that reliable rules of correspondence could not be devised, at least in the context of the present study.

Role theory, like other social psychological theories, lacks an abstract calculus. While there was no possibility of providing an abstract calculus for the present study, the "considerations" of stress theory were used to provide more logical structure than is otherwise found in role theory. The products of the integrated theory were the seven hypotheses that guided this study.

Were these hypotheses supported? Only hypothesis seven was unequivocally supported by the data. Hypotheses one and six produced contradictory findings for Northerners compared with Southerners. Hypotheses two and three, relevant only to Northerners, were not supported by the data. Finally, hypotheses four and five were rendered untestable by insufficiencies in the data.

Sparse as the findings are, they raise important questions. Why did the Northern migrants, in comparison with the Southern movers, lose in multiplicity of roles and experience so little satisfaction with roles? Why did multiplicity of roles in the previous community correlate with multiplicity of roles in the new community in the case of Southerners but not in the case of Northerners? Why, for Northerners, did motivation to migrate and preparation for new roles appear not to correlate with adjustment? Is there actually a curvilinear relationship between socioemotional problems and multiplicity of roles? These questions might be better answered in another study involving larger numbers of subjects and more precisely relevant data.

Clues to the adjustment problems of Northerners may lie in the early socialization experiences of natives, as Lubart concluded in his study. Role theory, especially Sullivan's version, but also role theory integrated with stress theory, could be used to investigate the impact of early socialization on adjustment to new environments.

The receptiveness of the new community looms as a large factor in adjustment, according to the migration literature and this study. In focusing attention on perceived audience response to role enactment, role theory proved to have some utility in investigating the receptiveness of the community.

Evaluation of the theory. According to the criteria set out by Deutsch and Krauss, role theory with its stress theory supplement has been "fruitful." That is, it has been possible to use the theory to make logical inferences, to see multiple connections among constructs within the system, and, to some extent, to find empirical referents for the constructs.

In addition, the supplemented role theory seems to meet Hall and Lindzey's criteria for acceptance. First, the theory seems to have utility in that the hypotheses are fairly comprehensive, and with adequate data, could be verifiable. The other criteria for acceptance are incorporation of known empirical findings, simplicity, and ability to provide focus. The supplemented role theory need not be rejected outright on the basis of any of these criteria.

In retrospect, however, it is apparent that both theoretical and methodological refinements could have improved the study.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

[1] Immigration Policy Perspectives, p. 1.

[2] Clifford J. Jansen (ed.), Readings in the Sociology of Migration, p. 3.

[3] S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, p. 6.

[4] Victor D. Sanua, "Immigration, Migration, and Mental Illness: A Review of the Literature with Special Emphasis on Schizophrenia," Behavior in New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Populations, ed. by Eugene Brody.

[5] Varden Fuller, Rural Worker Adjustment to Urban Life: An Assessment of the Research, p. 57.

Chapter II

[1] Leszek A. Kosinski and R. Mansell Prothero (eds.), People on the Move, pp. 12-14.

[2] J.J. Mangalam, Human Migration (A Guide to Migration Literature in English, 1955-1962), p. 3.

[3] Robin J. Pryor, Internal Migration and Urbanization, p. ix.

[4] Clifford J. Jansen (ed.) Readings in the Sociology of Migration, p. 49.

[5] Robert J. Kleiner and Seymour Parker, "Social-Psychological Aspects of Migration and Mental Disorder in a Negro Population," Behavior in New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Populations, ed. by Eugene Brody, p. 371.

[6] Elmer L. Streuning, Judith G. Rabkin and Harris B. Beck, "Migration and Ethnic Membership in Relation to Social Problems," Behavior in New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Populations, ed. by Eugene Brody, p. 245.

[7] Varden Fuller, Rural Worker Adjustment to Urban Life: An Assessment of the Research, p. 40.

[8] Mangalam, op. cit., p. 11.

[9] Jansen, op. cit., pp. 49-68.

[10] Fuller, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

[11] Pryor, op. cit., p. x.

[12] Ibid., pp. xxviii-xlv.

[13] Ibid., p. xlv.

[14] Henry P. David, "Involuntary International Migration: Adaptation of Refugees," Behavior in New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Population, ed. by Eugene Brody, p. 89.

[15] Ruth Johnston, The Assimilation Myth, p. 1.

[16] The reference is to the categorization developed by Merton as it is reported in Morton Deutsch and Robert M. Krauss, Theories in Social Psychology.

[17] Gordon Allport, "The Historical Background of Social Psychology," Handbook of Social Psychology, I, ed. by Gardner Lindzey and Elliott Aronson, p. 3.

[18] S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, p. ix.

[19] Ibid., p. 25.

[20] Ibid., p. 142.

[21] W.D. Borrie, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, p. 94.

[22] Ibid., p. 123.

[23] Phyllis Palgi, "Cultural Components of Immigrants' Adjustment," Migration, Mental Health and Community Services, ed. by Henry David, p. 75.

[24] Eugene Brody, (ed.), Behavior in the New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Populations, p. 14.

[25] Ibid., p. 16.

[26] Ibid., p. 16.

[27] Abraham A. Weinberg, Migration and Belonging: A Study of Mental Health and Personal Adjustment in Israel, p. 47.

[28] Ibid., p. 51.

[29] Ibid., p. xix.

[30] Ibid., p. 5.

[31] Ibid., p. 260.

[32] Ibid., p. 215.

[33] P.S. Adler, "Transitional Experience: An Alternative View of Culture Shock," Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 15 (Fall, 1975), p. 13-23.

[34] Harry K. Schwarzweller and Martin J. Crowe, "Adaptation of Appalachian Migrants to the Industrial Work Situation: A Case Study from the Beech Creek Study." Behavior in New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Populations, ed. by Eugene Brody, p. 100.

[35] G. Beijer, Rural Migrants in Urban Setting, p. 317.

[36] Marc Fried, "Deprivation and Migration: Dilemmas of Causal Interpretation," Behavior in New Environments: Adaptation of Migrant Populations, ed. by Eugene Brody, p. 62.

[37] J. Ex, Adjustment After Migration, p. 3.

[38] Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, P. 303.

[39] Borrie, op. cit., pp. 142-43.

[40] Maria Pfister-Ammende in Uprooting and Resettlement, pp. 26-28.

[41] Mangalam, op. cit., p. 5.

[42] Mark Nagler, Natives Without a Home.

[43] J. S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts, p. 96.

[44] Diamond Jenness, The People of the Twilight, p. v.

[45] A. K. Davis, A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers, II, p. 521.

[46] P. Deprez and G. Sigurdson, The Economic Status of the Canadian Indian: A Re-examination, p. 6.

[47] The Indian in Transition: The Indian Today, p. 9.

[48] Thomas Berger, Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland, The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, I, p. 91

[49] Charles S. Brant and Charles W. Hobart, "The Educational System in the Western Arctic," Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic, ed. by. Victor F. Valentine and Frank G. Vallee, p. 194.

[50] Charles W. Hobart, "Local Schools Versus Hostels," People of Light and Dark, ed. by Maja van Steensel, p. 131.

[51] Berger, op. cit., pp. 91-92.

[52] Jean Leonard Elliott, Native Peoples, p. 8.

[53] Mel Watkins, Dene Nation: The Colony Within, p. 3.

[54] George Manuel and Michael Posluns, The Fourth World: An Indian Reality, pp. 11-12.

[55] Frank G. Vallee, "The Emerging Northern Mosaic," Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change and Conflict, ed. by Richard Ossenberg, p. 151.

[56] Oliver Bird, "Problems of Migrating Natives," The Native Perspective, October, 1975, p. 9.

[57] Edgar J. Dosman, Indians: The Urban Dilemma, p. 172.

[58] Ibid, p. 172.

[59] J. M. Lubart, Psychodynamic Problems of Adaptation: Mackenzie Delta Eskimos, p. xi.

[60] Ibid., p. xi.

[61] Ibid., p. 32.

[62] Ibid., p. 34.

[63] Ibid., p. 44.

[64] Dosman, op. cit., p. 161.

Chapter III

[1] Morton Deutsch and Robert M. Krauss, Theories in Social Psychology, p. 173.

[2] Ibid., p. 8.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

[4] Ibid., p. 173.

[5] Calvin S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey, Theories of Personality, 2nd ed.; p. 14.

[6] Jerold Heiss, (ed.), Family Roles and Interaction: An Anthology, p. 3.

[7] Ibid., p. 4.

[8] Theodore R. Sarbin and Vernon L. Allen, "Role Theory," Handbook of Social Psychology, 2nd ed.; I, ed. by Gardner Lindzey and Elliott Aronson, p. 489.

[9] Ibid., p. 551.

[10] Ibid., p. 497.

[11] Ibid., p. 503

[12] Ibid., p. 504.

[13] Ibid., p. 505.

[14] *Ibid*., p. 508.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 511.

[16] *Ibid*., p. 514.

[17] *Ibid*., p. 523.

[18] *Ibid*., p. 523.

[19] *Ibid*., p. 524.

[20] *Ibid*., p. 529.

[21] *Ibid*., p. 523.

[22] *Ibid*., p. 541.

[23] Hall and Lindzey, *op*. *cit*., p. 140.

[24] *Ibid*., p. 141.

[25] *Ibid*., p. 145.

[26] Deutsch and Krauss, *op*. *cit*., p. 190.

[27] *Ibid*., p. 199.

[28] David Mechanic, "Some Problems in Developing an Social Psychology of Adaptation to Stress," *Social and Psychological Factors in Stress*, ed. by Joseph E. McGrath, p. 106.

[29] *Ibid*., p. 106.

[30] S. N. Eisenstadt, *The Absorption of Immigrants*, p. 1.

[31] Mechanic, *op*. *cit*. p. 111.

[32] Orientation programs were provided by the employer for the trainees prior to the commencement of the training program: only a few of the wives had attended these programs.

[33] Supervisor-Counsellors were lower level management personnel whose work included assisting the trainees and their families to adjust to the new environment.

Chapter IV

[1] Edgar J. Dosman, Indians: The Urban Dilemma, p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 11.

[3] The interviewer was Mrs. Mae Hopwood.

[4] Paul Wallin, "Prediction from Case Studies," The Prediction of Personal Adjustment, ed. by Paul Horst, p. 205.

[5] Ralph H. Tindall, "Relationships Among Measures of Adjustment," Readings in the Psychology of Adjustment, 2nd ed.; ed. by Leon Gorlow and Walter Katkovsky, p. 74.

Chapter V

[1] Morris Rosenberg, The Logic of Survey Analysis, p. 207.

[2] Paul B. Foreman, "The Theory of Case Studies," Research Methods and Insights, ed., by Billy J. Franklin and Harold W. Osborne.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR USE IN INTERVIEWING TRAINEES' WIVES

Introduction:

We are going to talk to the wives of Northern trainees in order to find out how they are adjusting to life in the South. We want to find out what the problems are and what ideas the wives have for dealing with them. When the study is complete we hope to make recommendations that will help the wives of Northern trainees adjust to life in Southern Canada.

All answers to the questions will be strictly confidential.

Background questions:

Respondent's name ______________________

Place of interview ______________________

Date ______________________

Ethnic background of respondent ______________________

1. How long have you been living here?

2. (a) Were you at any other locations in the South during your involvement with the training program?

   (b) Where?

3. What occupation is your husband training for?

4. Where are you from?

5. (a) What sort of place is that?
   (b) What is the population?
   (c) What is the main occupation of the people?
   (d) What is the atmosphere of the place?

6. Where is your husband from?

7. What sort of place is that?

8. (a) How long have you been married?
   (b) Were you married here or up North?

9. How old are you?

10. How old is your husband?

11. (a) Do you have any children?
    (b) What sex are they?
    (c) How old are they?

12. If they go to school, what grades are they in?

13. (a) How many years of schooling do you have?
    (b) Did you attend residential schools?
    (c) Where?

14. (a) How many years of schooling does your husband have?
    (b) Did he attend residential schools?
    (c) Where?

15. (a) Had you ever been in Southern Canada before your husband joined the Northern Petroleum Institute Training Program?
    (b) How long?
    (c) Where?

16. (a) Had your husband ever been in Southern Canada before he became a trainee?
    (b) How long?
    (c) Where?

17. (a) Have you ever held a job?
    (b) Where?
    (c) What type of work were you doing?
    (d) For how long?

18. (a) What other jobs has your husband had besides the one he has now?
    (b) Where?
    (c) What was he doing just before he became a trainee?

The move:

19. What made you decide to move?

20. (a) Did you and your husband discuss the move very much?
    (b) Was one of you more enthusiastic than the other?

21. (a) What was the move to Southern Canada like?
(b) How did you travel?
(c) Did the family move together?

22. How did you find a place to live?

23. Were any of the expenses involved in the move paid by the company?

24. Did anyone from the Task Training Force give you advice or help?

25. (a) Did you know much about what to expect in Southern Canada?
(b) How did you get this information?
(c) Do you think that an orientation program for women would be a good idea?

26. (a) Did anyone from the Task Training Force, the company or the community help you to feel at home?
(b) Describe any incidents.

General questions about life in the South:

27. (a) How do you like living in the South?
(b) How do you feel about this community?
(c) How would you describe the town?
(d) HOw would you describe the people here?

28. (a) How does your husband like living in the South?
(b) What does he think of the people and the community?

29. How do your children like living here?

30. What are the main differences between this community and the one(s) you lived in up North?

31. How does your standard of living compare with what you had in the North?

32. (a) Do you have the same or more or less money to spend here compared with what you had in the North?
(b) Do you save any?

33. How do you find prices here compared with those where you came from?

34. How does your living accommodation compare with what you had in the North?

35. (a) All in all, are you satisfied with your standard of living?
(b) Is it as good as you hoped it would be?

36. Have you run into any unfriendliness or prejudice on the part of neighbours, or people in the stores, banks, schools, etc.? Describe any outstanding incidents.

37. (a) Have you made friends here?
    (b) Who are your friends--neighbours, people from work, other trainees and their families?

38. (a) Are there any other Northerners living near enough for you to be friendly with them?
    (b) Are any of them married?
    (c) With children?
    (d) If there are no Northern families living close to you, would you like some to come here?

39. Do you think that this is a good place to bring up your children?

40. Has living here affected your marriage in any way?

The Northern Petroleum Institute Training Program:

41. (a) How do you feel about the training program you husband is on?
    (b) What is good about it?
    (c) Is it what you expected it to be?
    (d) What do you wish were different?

42. How does your husband feel about the training program?

43. (a) Do you think it would be helpful as far as you are concerned if there were a female Supervisor-Counsellor?
    (b) If so, in what ways could she be helpful?

Wife's employment:

44. (a) Do you have a job outside the home? Yes No
    (b) If you don't have a job, would you like to have one? Yes No

45. If you have or want a job, is this because of the money it would bring in, or because of interest in the job itself, or both?

(If respondent is employed, ask questions 46 to 55, or as suitable.)

46. What type of work do you do?

47. How do you like your work?

48. What do you think of your pay?

49. Do you like the people you work with?

50. How would you rate your co-workers?

	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all
Friendly				
Cooperative				
Helpful				
Indifferent				
Unfair or prejudiced				

51. How would you rate your employer?

	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all
Friendly				
Cooperative				
Helpful				
Indifferent				
Unfair or prejudiced				

(If respondent is employed and has children, ask questions 52 to 55.)

52. Who takes care of your children while you work?

53. How do you feel about this arrangement?

54. If you are not satisfied with the arrangements for care of your children, what are the reasons for your dissatisfaction?

55. Have you any ideas for improving the situation?

Involvement in the community:

56. (a) Are you interested in belong to any community organizations such as sporting clubs, church groups, volunteer help groups?
    (b) Did you belong to any such groups when you were in the North?

57. (a) Have you heard of any such organizations here?
    (b) Have you been contacted by any of these?
    (c) Do you belong to any?
    (d) Which ones?
    (e) How could you go about joining the ones that interest you?

(Questions 58 to 61 are to be addressed to mothers of children.)

58. (a) Are there day care centres in this community?
    (b) If so, do you make use of them?
    (c) If there is none, do you think that you would use them if they were provided?
    (d) Would you become more involved in the community?
    (e) In what ways?

59. (a) Have your children found playmates here?
    (b) Who are their friends? (Children of other trainees, of other Northerners, white children from the community, native children from the community?)

60. (a) What do you think of your children's friends and playmates? (Friendly, well-behaved, like kids anywhere-a mixture of good and bad, cruel, unpleasant?)
    (b) How do these children compare with the friends your children had in the North?

The school:

(The questions in this section are to be addressed only to mothers of children attending school.)

61. How do your children feel about the school they attend here?

62. If your children attended school in the North, how did they like the school there?

63. How does their progress in this school compare with progress in previous schools? (Report cards could provide such information.)

64. Have you met the teacher(s) and principal at this school?

65. If you have met with the teachers and principal, how would you rate them on the following scale? (Rate each teacher and principal separately. Number the teachers and use P for principal on the chart below.)

	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all
Friendly				
Concerned				
Competent				

Medical services:

66. Have you had much trouble with illness since you came to Southern Canada?

67. (a) Did you have much trouble with illness when you were in the North?
    (b) How would you compare the records of illness in your family in the North and in the South?

68. Do you have a family doctor here? Yes No

69. Did you have one in the North? Yes No

70. Do you have a family dentist here? Yes No

71. Did you have one in the North? Yes No

72. (a) Have your children had the routine immunization shots and T.B. checks? Yes No
    (b) Where did they have them?

73. (a) Has anyone in the family been hospitalized? Yes No
    (b) Where?
    (c) Can you compare hospital care in the North with hospital care here?

74. (a) How is medical care paid for here?
    (b) What about up North?

Leisure:

75. In general, how does your use of leisure time now compare with your use of it when you were in the North?

76. (a) Do you have leisure time activities which you can enjoy by yourself?
    (b) What are they?

77. Do you and your husband spend much of your leisure time together? (Possible leisure time activities are visiting, working on hobbies, participating in sports or community activities, going to the bar, attending movies, concerts, dances, or sporting events, etc.)

78. (a) How often are other couples involved in the activities mentioned above?
    (b) Is it usually the same one or two couples who are involved?

79. (a) Do you spend any leisure time with other women--apart from time spent in organizations which we have already discussed?
    (b) What sorts of things do you do?

80. (a) How much of your leisure time do you spend in activities involving your children?
    (b) What sorts of things do you do?

81. (a) Is there anything that you used to do in your leisure time up North that you cannot do here?
    (b) What?
    (c) Do you miss these activities very much?

82. (a) Are there things you can do here that you couldn't do up North?
    (b) What?
    (c) Do you enjoy these things very much.

83. (a) Are there activities in which you are interested but in which you have not become involved yet?
    (b) What activities?
    (c) Why haven't you become involved yet?

Emotional state:

84. Do you sometimes get lonesome or homesick?

85. (a) What do you do about this feeling, if you have it?
    (b) Do you keep in touch with friends and relatives back home?

86. Does your husband ever get lonely or homesick for the North?

87. What does he do about this feeling?

88. What do you think are the best ways for anyone to cope with feelings of loneliness?

89. Do you ever feel bored?

90. How do you deal with this feeling?

91. What are other emotional problems you have run into while living in the South?

92. (a) On the whole are you glad you made the move?
    (b) If not, do you ever try to make plans to go back?

The future:

93. (a) Do you have definite plans or hopes for the future:
    (b) What are they?
    (c) Does your husband share these hopes?

94. (a) Do you want your husband to continue with the training program?
    (b) If so, for how long?

95. (a) Where do you expect your husband to work when his training is completed?
    (b) Would this be satisfactory to you?
    (c) If not, what would you rather he did?

96. (a) If your husband does not complete his training, what do you expect him to do?
    (b) How do you feel about this possibility?

Summary:

97. What comments do you have on the way the Training Task Force is handling the training program?

98. What ideas do you have for helping wives of Northern trainees to adjust to living in the South?

99. What do you think of this questionnaire?

APPENDIX II

POST-INTERVIEW IMPRESSIONS SHEET

Emotional key of interview:

Respondent's prior consideration of the questions:

Sincerity:

Openness:

Personality:

Intelligence:

Experience or sophistication:

Housekeeping:

Children:

Name of respondent:

APPENDIX III

FOLLOW-UP INFORMATION ON TRAINEES AND THEIR WIVES

Name of respondent: ______________________________

Check one of the following:

- Husband dropped out of the training program and
  - Couple together in South
  - Couple together in North
  - Couple parted
- Husband still in training program and
  - Couple together
  - Couple parted
- Husband completed training program and
  - Couple together in South
  - Couple together in North
  - Couple parted

Comment on couple's adjustment to their new environment, in particular the wife's adjustment.

APPENDIX IV

INDEX CONSTRUCTION

Operationization of the variables was achieved through a process of index construction, summarized below.

The first column lists the composite parts of the index.

The second column lists the questionnaire items which were considered in defining the index. Symbols in parentheses indicate items of secondary interest.

The third column indicates the possible values of the composite parts of the index.

The fourth column briefly explains the allocation of values.

Multiplicity of Roles (Dependent variable)

Housewife	8a (8b)	0 2	No Yes
Mother	11a (11b)	0 2	No Yes
Employee	44a 46	0 1 2	No Part-time Full time
Memberships in Organizations	57c 57d	0 1 2	None One or two Three or more
Participation in Leisure Activities	75 76a, 76b 81a, 81b (77) (79) (80)	0 1 2	Seldom Occasional, little variety Frequent, variety

Values: Low = 3-4; Medium = 5-6; High = 7-9.

Satisfaction with Roles (Dependent Variable)

Housewife	31	0	Mainly dissatisfied
	32a, 32b	2	A few complaints
	(33)	4	Well satisfied
	34		
	35a, 35b		
	40		
	77		
Mother	29	0	Serious frustrations
	39	2	Finds inconveniences, not serious
	(52) (53)		
	(54) (55)	4	Well satisfied
	80a, 80b	N/A	No children
Employee	44b	0	Unemployed but desiring employment
	45		
	47	2	Works only for money
	48	4	Enjoys work, co-workers, income
	49		
	(50) (51)	N/A	Not wishing employment
Memberships in Organizations	56a	0	Feels excluded, resentful
	57a, 57b		
	(57c) (57d) (57e)	1	Would like more memberships
	(58c) (58d) (58e)		
		2	Satisfied with present memberships
		N/A	Not interested in memberships
Participation in Leisure Activities	(75)	0	Feels severely limited
	81c	1	Enjoys some activities, would like more
	82c		
	83a, 83b, 83c	2	Is well satisfied

Values: Low = .3-.4; Medium = .5-.7; High = .8-.9.

(Values are ratios of felt satisfaction over possible satisfaction, given the roles occupied.)

Competence of Role Enactment (Dependent Variable)

Housewife	Assessed by Interviewer	0	Poor
		1	Good
Mother	Assessed by Interviewer	0	Poor
		1	Good

Citizen	Assessed by Supervisor-Counsellor	0	Poor
		1	Good

(There was too little variance in this variable to render it useful.)

Multiplicity of Roles in Original Community

Housewife	1	0	No
	8a, 8b	2	Yes
Mother	1	0	No
	11a, 11b	2	Yes
Employee	17a, 17b, 17c, 17d	0	No
		1	Part-time
		2	Full time
Memberships in Organizations	56b	0	No
		1	One or two
		2	Three or more
Participation in Leisure Activities	75	0	Seldom
	81a, 81b	1	Occasional, little variety
		2	Frequent, variety

Values: Low = 2-4; Medium = 5-7; High = 8-9.

Preparation for Roles in the New Community

Schooling	13a, 13b, 13c	1	Grades 8,9
		2	Grades 10, 11
		3	Grade 12 or more
Prior experience in Southern Canada	15a, 15b, 15c	0	None
		1	Short visit(s)
		2	More than a month
Preparation by training program personnel	24	0	No
		1	Yes
Impression of preparedness	25a, 25b	0	Unprepared
	(25c)	1	Prepared

Values: Low = 2-3; Medium = 4-5; High = 6.

Motivation to Migrate

Push or pull factors	19	0	Unwilling to move
		1	One push or pull factor
		2	Both push and pull factors
Enthusiasm	20a, 20b	0	None
		1	Some
		2	Keen

Values: Low 1-2; High: 3-4.

Perceived Satisfaction of Physiochemical Needs

Standard of Living	35a, 35b	0	Not satisfied
		1	Satisfied
Illness	66	0	Much illness
		1	No illness

(There was too little variance in this variable to render it useful.)

Perception of Incentives in Roles

Hopes for the future	93a, 93b (93c)	0	No thought of goals
		1	Wish to return to North
		2	Short-term goals
		3	Long-term goals

(Information on incentives was too limited to permit construction of a reliable index.)

Socioemotional State

Loneliness	84 (85a) (85b)	0	None
		1	Occasional
		2	Frequent
Boredom	89 (90)	0	None
		1	Occasional
		2	Frequent
Other Problems	91	0	None
		1	Some
Satisfaction with move	92a (92b)	0	Yes
		1	No

Values: Low = 0-1; Medium = 2-3; High = 3-5.

Perceived Positive Audience Response to Role Enactment

Community	26a, 26b	0	None
	(27a) (27b)	1	One source
	(27c) (27d)	2	More than one source
Experience of Prejudice or Discrimination	36	0	None
		-1	Some
		-2	Much
Friends	37a, 37b	0	None
	(78a) (78b)	1	One source
		2	More than one source
Co-workers	50	0	Neutral
		1	Positive
		N/A	Not employed
Employer	51	0	Neutral
		1	Positive
		N/A	Not employed
School	65	0	No feedback
		1	Positive feedback
		N/A	No children in school

Values: Low = -.3 to .3; Medium = .5 to .7; High = .8 to 1.0.

(Values are ratios of perceived positive audience response to possible perceived positive audience response, given roles occupied.)

VITA

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University of Alberta
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1958-1963 B.Ed.

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Province of Alberta Undergraduate Scholarship
October, 1959

Board of Governors Prize in ARts
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